

# DE BOW'S REVIEW.

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## ART. I.—REPORT ON THE SLAVE TRADE,

MADE TO THE SOUTHERN CONVENTION AT MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, BY  
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WE present this able report to our readers entire, and will, in our next, furnish the views of the minority as exhibited by one of the committees, and in the discussions of the Convention.—EDITOR.

At the last meeting of this convention, which was held at Knoxville, in the State of Tennessee, there were several communications submitted with a view to elicit an expression of feeling upon the subject of the foreign slave trade, which was then attracting some attention; and that body, unwilling to ignore the question, and unwilling also to act in haste upon a matter of so much importance, appointed a committee to take that subject into consideration. They were charged to inquire into the condition of the natives of Africa; to examine into the wants of the South in respect to population and labor, and report upon the same to this convention; and that committee having had these several subjects under consideration, during the recess, now beg leave to offer their report.

In advance of any investigation as to the probable effects of the foreign slave trade upon the fortunes, either of Africa or the Southern States of this Republic, there is the question, whether, in any event, it may be right to bring the negro by compulsion to a life of labor. But that question we take to be determined by domestic slavery.

It is obvious that two distinct and antagonistic forms of society have met for the contest upon the arena of this Union. The one assumes that all men are equal and that equality is right, and, forming upon that theory, is straining its members to the horizontal plain of a democracy. The other assumes that all men are not equal, that equality is not right, therefore,

and, forming upon this theory, is taking itself the rounded form of a social aristocracy. If this were a question to be determined by opinion, there would be the room for extended argument as to which may be the better. The one embodies the popular ideal of the age, and, while entitled therefore to presumptions in its favor, is established, in the common mind, by the conclusive logic of adoption. The other departs from the ideal, and, while sentenced therefore by the popular judgment, must prove its claims to recognition. But it has high grounds on which to stand in claiming to be the embodiment of a living social truth.

Two races have concurred in union here, and these races are unequal. That they are unequal, in character and capacity, is too plain, perhaps, to need an argument. While the ruling race has been capable of progress—while it was continually advanced in law and arts, and is able to sustain a structure of civilization, not only over itself but over the other race connected with it—that other race has not been capable of progress. It has never been able to rear a structure of civilization in its native land; it has not been able to sustain the structure prepared for it in the West Indies; it has not been able to stand up to the structure sustained over it in the Northern States; and neither in its native land or in a foreign land, in a savage or civilized condition, has it ever yet been able to illuminate one living truth with the rays of genius.

Yet, while so unequal, there is no apparent reason why these races may not come together. They are upon the surface of the same earth; they both possess powers of expansion, and the God that made them must have foreseen, and must have intended, therefore, that their circles of expansion should intersect; and, unless it can be inferred that the stronger was intended to exterminate the weaker, as it has crushed out the Indian on this continent, and as man expels the untamed beasts, it would seem that some form of union was intended to take place between them.

If intended that a union should occur, it must have been intended, also, that it should occur in relations of inequality, for it is a law of the same great architect that, if unequal in fact, they must be unequal in relations—that bodies of unequal gravity must rest upon unequal levels—that oil and water poured into the same vessel must settle in plains of unequal elevation; and so, therefore, it would seem that in this form of social constitution there is not only no wrong, but that here, as elsewhere, if nature be true to herself, superior power must find its office in superior position.

Nor, though democracy be the ideal of the age, is there the reason for believing that human society was intended to

consist, forever, of an unarticulated mass of pure democracy. It is to be remembered that no such mass has ever yet commenced the march of social movement. Whenever States have come to greatness they have exhibited the condition of unequal classes. There were citizens and slaves in Greece, patricians and plebeians in Rome, peers and villains in England, nobles and peasants in Central Europe, and generally wherever there has been social power and progress there has been articulation—a ruling and subject class, if not a ruling and a subject race—an artificial if not a natural dualism. And so, also, is it to be noticed that no State has ever yet survived the loss of such political distinctions. Rome perished in a military democracy; France leans on despotism, since the natural props of social order have been stricken down; and even now it might be painful to consider what would be the North without the South. It is true that these inequalities have been artificial, and being artificial they have yielded to the force of social gravity. It was right, in one sense, that the peer, being no better than the peasant, should come down, and that the peasant, the natural equal of the peer, should rise; and there has been the assertion of a social truth in every step towards a democracy, and reason, therefore, in the shouts of triumph which encourage masses in their march to power. But this exhibits only that these distinctions were unnatural, not that they were unnecessary—not that inequality is wrong, but only that political inequality cannot endure without the natural fitness to sustain it: and if society, by its own spasmodic workings through human history, has exhibited the great truths that to social order and social progress there is the necessity for social articulation and a ruled and ruling class, and that without unequal races these distinctions are not to be perpetuated, it has demonstrated that not only is this form of social constitution adopted by these Southern States not wrong, but that in our possession of races so unequal they can never merge, we hold the promise of a brighter future than has ever opened to the hopes of man.

Nor are the analogies of this great universe against it. We have no means of knowing what is to be the final constitution of society; but, we have no reason for assuming that it is not to have some other form than it has ever yet achieved. As the unorganic world has been brought to the point at which it is fit for animal life, and as animal life has been raised through successive steps up to the point at which it is fitted for society, so also is there reason for believing that society itself may be intended to progress to other verges of creation. The physical world would seem to be complete. Starting at the polyp—an unarticulated thing, with its foot-stalk on a

rock, and capable only of growth and reproduction, and following the chain of animated nature up to man—we see a grand panorama of creations, each order more complicated and more perfect than the one before it. Of this great array of physical nature, the forms are all determined and the requisitions known. But starting at society, as yet an unarticulated thing, with its foot-stalk on man, and pointing out to a range of social relations unaccomplished, the forms are not determined and the requisitions are not known. It may be that this democracy—this thing of equal elements—unarticulated and unbelieved, is all that is intended; that this order of social relations is to stop at its first achievements, and that man is to endure, and nations rise and fall, with the ability to attain to nothing more formed and more enduring than this elementary condition; but, it may be that it is not all that is intended. It may be that society also is to go by regular gradations upwards, and that it is to have form and organism, and capacities, and powers, as much above the democratic ideal of the present age as is the vertebræ above the radiate in animated nature.

Such are some of the grounds upon which slavery stands to vindicate itself. It may be that it is right. There is no umpire between us, at least upon this earth, and whether right or not, can only be determined in the great result. And it is only for us, in humble reliance on an overruling Providence, to do our part by slavery and trust to Him the favorable issue. If we affirm this union of unequal races, we must affirm the means to its formation. It were else as logical in those who favor matrimony to object to marriage; and affirmation of slavery, therefore, is in principle and effect an affirmation of the foreign slave-trade.

That this is so there is little room for question. It has been attempted to distinguish between the foreign and domestic slave trade, but there is no ground for such distinction. There are many tender to the touch of foreign stricture, who are content to say we hold the negro by prescription; but there is no such refuge. If I shall have held a negro, and that were possible, until his right to liberty, as against me, has been barred by him, so has not, also, the man to whom I sell him; and he who buys a slave he never owned at home has nothing to say to me for buying a slave I never owned abroad.

But we go further. If there be the right to liberty in the negro, it can never be extinguished by prescription. That may give property as between owners, but it can give no sanction to a wrong. It may give me the title to property, as against another, and to a slave, therefore, as against his master, but no right to a slave as against himself. And it

were as just to hold, that the imprisonment of a man for one year will warrant his imprisonment for another, or that we may beat a neighbor until it shall be no battery to beat him, or, generally, that the repetition of any other wrong will make it right—as, that by holding the negro in violation of his natural rights for so long, we have acquired the right to hold him longer.

Considering, then, that slavery is itself an affirmance of all the proper means to its extension—that if the trade be wrong, so is the condition which results from it—and that in no way can we defend the union of unequal races without defending also the means to its formation, we next come to the two great practical questions that have been submitted to our consideration, which are: whether this trade will benefit the negroes of Africa, and if so, whether it will also benefit the South.

With respect to the African, it will first be noticed that slavery is the common condition of that country; and with respect to such as are slaves, therefore, it were a waste of time to show that they will be benefited by a change of masters. It is said that in some sections these amount to four-fifths of the entire population—and these would answer all the requisitions of the slave trade, without disturbing the condition of any that are not already slaves. So, also, is it to be noticed that none can be sold to slavery who are not either slaves or captives: and to the captive of the savage there are no alternatives but death or slavery; and whether slaves or captives, therefore, there is but little room to doubt but that the brightest fortune that awaits them is in a life of service in these Southern States.

But it is assumed that the slave trade will set these tribes to taking captives, and that for this, therefore, and the cruelty and crimes attendant on it, this trade will be justly answerable. But it is not to be so assumed, unless it can be said that there would not be war and bloodshed to the same extent without; and that cannot be said. On the contrary, it may be mournful, but it is true, that savage tribes must war upon each other. They warred upon each other on this continent; they war upon each other in the Southern Pacific Islands; and in Africa there has been one continued war of each poor tribe upon its neighbor throughout the whole extended period of its history. There is cessation, but no more of peace than marks the intercourse of hosts that roam the desert. War is the condition, and captives are its incidents. If there be the slave trade, they will be spared to slavery; if not, to avoid the burden of supporting them, or to preclude the chances of escape, they will be slain; and the slave trade, therefore, does more to

mitigate the barbarities of savage warfare than any other institution known to history. It saves to life and usefulness 1,000,000 to 1 that is so preserved by the aspirations of philanthropy.

Admitting, however, that the foreign slave trade will occasion slavery, and it is still to be considered whether those who come within its influence are proper subjects for commiseration, for it is certain that there are few aspects of native life in Africa attractive.

Mr. Freeman, who visited Upper Guinea, on the west coast, and who writes to the Wesleyan Missionary Society of London, in 1838, of the people of Ashantee says: "When an Ashantee of any description dies, several of his slaves are sacrificed; and as I walked out early in the morning, I saw the mangled corpse of a poor female slave, who had been beheaded during the night, lying on the public street. It was positively covered with a cotton mat, and as this covering is unusual, I concluded that it was thrown over it to hide it from my view. In the course of the day I saw groups of natives dancing round it with all manner of fantastic gestures, appearing to be in the very zenith of their happiness." Speaking of another, he says, "The head was severed from the body, and several turkey buzzards were feasting on the wounds, and literally rolling the head in the dust."

Mr. Robert Moffat, who, for twenty years, had been agent of the London Missionary Society in South Africa, and who wrote in 1845, of the Bushmen of Zak River, says: "The practice is, that when a mother dies, whose infant is unable to shift for itself, it is without ceremony buried alive with her." And again: "Their huts are formed by digging a hole in the earth about three feet deep, and making a roof of reeds, which, however, is insufficient to keep off the rain. Thus they lie close together like pigs in a sty. They are extremely lazy, so that nothing will arouse them but hunger. The men have several wives. \* \* Hottentots seldom destroy their children, except in a fit of passion, but the Bushmen will kill their children without any remorse on various occasions. \* \* They know no God, nothing of eternity, and yet dread death."

Of the Bechuanas he says: "They have no traditions of religion, and do not rise even to idolatry. \* \* They are brought to religious exercises by bits of tobacco, and were attentive only so long as they had the hope of gaining any thing by it. \* \* They break the legs of our cattle, they steal our tools and utensils, and, when they can make no use of them, they disfigure them as much as possible and bring them back to trade for something else."

In one of his excursions he came to a decrepid Hottentot mother who had been abandoned by her childred to perish in the desert, or be devoured by beasts.

Of the Boralongs, he says: "They view murder with indifference, and he was immoderately laughed at for complaining to a chief that a man had just dashed his spear through his wife."

Rev. Mr. Bowen, who wrote in 1856, says of the Yaronba tribe, that "when a man dies the oldest son inherits the house and all the wives but his own mother;" and of the Kruman, he says, "as age advances he looses the control of his female household, most of the members of which now run away, unless he is wise enough (as usage permits) to dispose of them to his more youthful relations."

Lander, speaking of the Lootoo, says: "The reason of our not meeting with a better reception was in the want of a chief—the last having followed the old Governor to the grave, for he was his slave." He says also, that "widows are clubbed or poisoned there, as they are burned in India." And of the Eboi, he says that "four-fifths of the entire population of that, and the adjacent countries, are slaves."

Capt. Canot, an old slaver, who was taken and confined by the Kree Bushmen, speaks of what he saw on the morning after the battle: "Presently slowly approached from a distance a procession of women, whose naked limbs were smeared with chalk and ochre, poured into the 'palaver house' to join the beastly rites. Each of these devils was armed with a knife, and bore in her hands some cannibal trophy. Jenkins' wife, a corpulent wench of forty-five, dragged along the ground, by a single limb, the slimy corpse of an infant."

Dr. Barth, who visited North and Central Africa, under the auspices of Her Britannic Majesty's government in 1850, says of the Berber tribes, which have at least the merit of hereditary distinctions, that "the few of the ruling race live in tolerable comfort upon the plunder of caravans and the labor of their many subjects; and that under the influence of those advantages they have abandoned tents, to some extent, and live in huts made of bushes and dry grass."

Bruce, the traveler, visits Abyssinia, which has not only a hereditary aristocracy, but some lingering forms of the Christian religion; and, speaking of their habits, says of their slaughtering animals, that "two or more of them fall to work on the back of the beast while it is still alive, and stripping the skin half way down the sides, begin to cut away from it. The noise made by the poor creature is the announcement that dinner is ready."

Mr. Mansfield Perkyns, who visits the same country in

1850, says that "there has been much improvement since the time of Bruce, and that though the better classes still sleep naked, with a block of wood for a pillow, and still eat the flesh of animals while it is yet warm and quivering, they yet, in most cases, kill the animal before they eat it up."

Dr. Livingston passes from the Cape of Good Hope to Central Africa, and through Central Africa from Loonda to the mouths of the Gambezi, and though he gets up a feeling of much regard for the people whom he met, he fails to show the reason for it. "Katama, a naked six foot chieftain, of the river Luba, receives his presents of a red baize cloak, and an iron spoon, with great satisfaction, and then mounting on the shoulders of his slender spokesman, retires with imposing dignity. Sekeletu, the chief of the Mokololos, is his disciple and his friend." But when the Doctor returned from an excursion to Loonda, he finds that the wives of his men had taken to other husbands, and that Sekeletu himself, his hopeful convert, had made two excursions to depredate upon the slaves and cattle of his neighbors.

Of these Mokololo, whom he much admires, he says that "the rich show kindness to the poor, but only in the hope of service; and that the poor, who have no relations, will seldom be supplied with even water when they are sick; and when they die, are dragged out to the hyenas."

At Magoro, on his way down the Gambezi, he counted fifty-four skulls around on stakes, and we learned that the chiefs of that region vie with each other in the number of skulls they can exhibit.

Such are some of the glimpses exhibited of native life in Africa. They could be extended indefinitely, but these are perhaps sufficient for our purpose. They seem to show that there is no class of negro life that is not elevated in coming to a state of slavery at the South. They are elevated not only to a sphere of greater usefulness, but greater comfort and well being. They also further show, that even there slavery is an advance upon the perfect barbarism of an African democracy, for the Bushmen have not the enterprise and character even to hold slaves. And they show, also, that the barbarities of African slavery are alleviated by the slave trade; for in those tribes where there is not the enterprise or opportunity to relieve themselves from accumulated numbers by the slave trade, there is no alternative but to use the spear or axe; and travellers notice no progress, no trace of civilization, in fact, except among those tribes where the slave trade has been in active operation. In view of these considerations it were idle to express concern about the interests of the African in his translation to a life of service in a civilized community.

We will next consider the probable effects of the foreign slave trade upon the fortunes of the South. The great want of the South is of population. This is necessary to political power, and political power is necessary to the preservation of liberty. The two great sections of this country are distinct, and it is unreasonable to expect that there can be to either a security for social and political rights without the political power to sustain them. As this Republic is at present constituted, political power is dependent upon population. If the North shall have a larger population, and a majority of States, the North may govern, and it were scarcely sanity to hope that she will forbear to do so. The North has that majority at present. She has one State more than the South has, and an excess of more than 6,000,000 people. Under these circumstances she has a majority of two votes in the Senate, and of more than fifty in the House of Representatives of the United States. Nor is this all; the States of Delaware and Maryland have so few slaves that it is only by courtesy they can be called slave States, and it is not certain that they have not a greater interest in joining the victorious party. Nor is this all. While the South can have but the natural increase of 10,000,000 people, the North has the natural increase of 16,000,000, and an independent increase of 350,000 per annum from abroad. In virtue of the position of Maryland and Delaware daily becoming more equivocal, the North has a political strength already greater than that indicated by the majorities above mentioned. In virtue of the more rapid increase of her population, she is daily acquiring an additional increase to her political power. With this excess of population she can readily, and perhaps she must necessarily, preclude the South from vacant territory. With this excess of political power, she can control the fortunes of the South in Congress. The purpose to control the Government, and through the Government the South, has already been expressed. It was expressed in the recent effort to elevate a miserable instrument to the first office in this Republic. It is expressed in the exclusion of Kansas under a pro-slavery constitution. It is expressed in the proscription of men who venture to regard the obligations of their oaths in Congress. And so, therefore, not only is the fact of power in the hands of the North unquestionable, but so also in its tendencies. Patriotism affords no impediment. An army of martyrs might perish in the track of this aggression without arresting it; and we have the assurance, therefore, that if the strange spectacle of a people attaining power, but forbearing to abuse it, is ever to be exhibited on this earth, it is not to be exhibited within this Union.

The slave trade will give us political power. For every five slaves that come we acquire the right to a representation for three persons in the National Legislature, and it thus, therefore, will directly and necessarily increase our relative representative power. But it will do more. The labor basis at the South is too restrictive to sustain a wider superstructure of direction. All the offices presented by the labor of 3,500,000 slaves are already filled, and more than filled, by the present members of the ruling race, and all the further members of the ruling race who come, therefore, must come into competition with the slave for their subsistence. But the 3,500,000 already here afford a platform, not broad enough, perhaps, but still a platform, upon which now stand 6,500,000 white men; one thousand, or one million more, will give a proportionately broader basis, and every slave that comes, therefore, may be said to bring his master with him, and to add more than twice his political value to the fortunes of the South.

And still more than this, it is necessary to power that we shall have not only population, but States; and experience has shown that there is no way of taking slave territory without slaves. Ten thousand Southern masters have made a noble effort to rescue Kansas, and have failed, but so would not have failed ten thousand slaves. Ten thousand of the rudest Africans that ever set their feet upon our shores, imported, as they would have been, perhaps, in Boston ships, by Boston capital, and under a Boston slave driver, would have swept the Free-soil party from that land. There is not an abolition emissary there who would not have purchased a slave if offered at \$150, which would give an ample profit on the cost of importation; and there is not an emissary there, who, purchasing a slave at \$150, would not become as strong a propagandist of slavery as ever lived. So, taking that Territory we would also have taken her whole population of 60,000 to the South; so, also, would we take another State in Texas; so, also, others in Arizona, New Mexico, and Lower California; so, also, we might take, perhaps, Nebraska, Utah, and Oregon; and it is even possible that, with slaves at importer's prices, we may stop the hungry mouth of free society in older States, and lull it to repose as far back as the sterile regions of New England.

It is assumed, of course, that the negro cannot endure the cold of the higher latitudes, just as it is assumed that this institution, accursed of heaven, is capable of nothing it has not accomplished. But if the negro dies in Canada, so, also, does he die in Domingo and Jamaica. The one extreme of climate is as fatal as the other, without the guards of slavery to protect him; but upon the northern boundaries of Kentucky and

Virginia, the highest points to which that race is taken by the disciplines of slavery, he exhibits, perhaps, the finest developments of negro character, and negro form, to be met in the world. Taken so far by slavery, it is not to be supposed that he can go no farther; and if we had but an honest faith in the fortunes of our institution, we might fairly hope that it is not to be condemned to any latitude, but that it is catholic as humanity in its character, and is capable of extension to the utmost limits of the habitable globe. Yet, however this may be, it is at least certain that the foreign slave trade will give us population; that it will give us powers of extension to vacant territory; that it will draw foreign enterprise to its embrace, foreign capital to its support, and that it will furnish the commodity with which to subsidize the emissaries of the North—to whip the North from every field of competition.

Another great want of the South is of labor. That is necessary both to material progress and the value of vested interest. It is necessary to material progress, for without it there is no hope of a more varied culture. Upon an area of 856,000 square miles, with a laboring population of only 3,500,000, it were idle to expect a competition with crowded countries in the realms of art. With the liberty of electing the very richest spots upon such a vast extent of vacant territory, adapted to products the most profitable, it is idle to expect that labor will forego these great advantages and take to whipping labor elsewhere from those pursuits to which, by the misfortunes of its condition, it is condemned. The arts are valuable, and it is desirable that they shall be cultivated; and it may be reprehensible in men that they do not forego their interests and cultivate them. But there is this insuperable difficulty in their profitable cultivation. The arts will pay no more for labor here than they are forced to pay for labor elsewhere. But cotton will, and does pay more for labor here than the arts will pay for labor anywhere, and cotton buys up all the labor, and the man who undertakes the arts must take his labor, not at art, but at cotton prices, and then commence the work of competition, and, except under peculiar circumstances, there is not the remotest hope of his success. Such is the condition, and such must be the condition, until there shall be sufficient labor at the South to satiate the craving maw of cotton. When this shall happen the excess will fall to competition with the world in other lines of business. The price of labor elsewhere will be the price of labor here, and with abundant labor here, in such condition, there will be no need of *post prandium* speeches in encouragement of art. That, when it offers profit, will attract abundant capital, and with abundant labor, therefore, enter-

prise will take new lines of action, and there is a firm assurance that the South will take a range of varied culture unsurpassed by any other country of the world. The foreign slave trade will give us that abundant labor. It is asserted that the negro is unfitted for the arts, but without the slightest ground for the assertion. Intelligence is necessary to the construction of the machine, and to its regulation also, but labor only is necessary to its operation; and the negro, in his common absence from reflection, is, perhaps, the best manipulatist in the world.

So also is labor necessary to the value of vested interests. In respect of such interests the South has been singularly unfortunate. At the North men step to opulence. The foreign population poured upon that section has given progress to every line of business, and value to every article of property. Lands bought one year are worth twice as much the next, and the people there, as values such around them, have the comforts of wealth, and the further satisfaction of being regarded as the most enterprising and judicious people in existence. Not so with us. Here there has been no wave of foreign power to raise the value of our vested interests. On the contrary, the wave of labor is continually gliding from us, and, though our labor has been productive, our products abundant, there are many of us in the older sections who would fail to sell estates to-day for as much as was paid for them in market fifty years ago.

This state of facts would be altered by the foreign slave-trade. That would give population, and population alone would necessarily advance the value of vested interests. For between population and the prices of real interests, at least, there is an intimate and necessary connection. In the Southern States, where there are but twelve persons to the square mile, the average value is about \$6 to the acre. In Northern States, where there are one hundred to the square mile, the average is about \$50 to the acre. In England, where there are three hundred and thirty-three to the square mile, the value is about \$170 per acre. In towns where there are one thousand to the square mile, the average value is about \$500; and in cities where there are fifty thousand to the square mile, the average value is not far from \$25,000 to the acre. And so it is that an increase in population gives a necessary increase in the value of real property; and so is it, also, that an increase of competitors will give a necessary increase in the value of every other matter that becomes the subject of a common want.

But if the foreign slave-trade, while it will give increase of population, will also give a cheaper form of slave labor, it

will still more advance the vested interests of the country. For if labor goes down, the product being the same, the subjects of its employment must go up; and, like a see-saw, the one end cannot fall without the other's rising. For if we pay say, \$7,000 for our slaves, and can only make the interest and maintenance of \$10,000, our lands can only be worth \$3,000; but if we should only be compelled to pay \$3,000 for our slaves, and yet make the interest and insurance on a fund of \$10,000, our lands will have been raised at once to the value of \$7,000; and \$4,000, therefore, will be the measure of the gain to such proprietor.

It may, perhaps, be objected to the sufficiency of this argument, that if the slave trade shall furnish labor cheaper, it will lower the price of slaves, and thus, therefore, that it will injure one class of interest as much as it will benefit another. But this is not the operation. It will give a cheaper form of slave labor. There can be little doubt but that it will furnish slaves that are competent to many of the under offices of life at a figure much below the present range of prices, but these will not come in competition with the slaves at present in the country. Those who own slaves now will be the first, perhaps, to buy them. Though not competent to do the business of educated slaves, they will yet be able, under the direction of educated slaves, to do the business which would else require a better class of labor; and without there should be a reduction in the price of Southern staples, the trained slaves cannot be less valuable than they are, and, with this want of them to guide and regulate the African, it is possible that they may come to even higher value.

That there will be a material reduction in the price of Southern staples is not to be expected. Cotton may come down, perhaps, to a level at least, with other staples, and it is, perhaps, desirable that it should come down to that position, for it is a grave misfortune to be dependent upon the fluctuations of a single product. So was it with the Spanish colonies of Mexico and South America. They had but the single product gold, and that was so remunerative that no others could approach it. It was a waste of time to plant crops, to prepare their food or clothing, or to practice even the courtesies of common life; and while it loaded the miserable miners down with metal, and gave millions upon millions to the treasury of the world, it held those regions to as wild a waste as though no human footsteps had ever crossed their threshold. So, also, here it is not considered profitable now to raise our grain, or cultivate the arts; and, if cotton were to range twenty years at twenty cents per pound, it is to be doubted whether every other culture would not be driven

from the field, and whether we would not come to a weary, wide-spread horizontal waste of cotton—the broad plantation, rather than as now, the province of the North.

But, while it is not desirable that cotton should be so elevated in value above the range of other products, it is not supposable that the foreign slave-trade will much reduce it. The South, at present, produces only about two-thirds of the cotton wanted by the world; the other comes from Egypt and the east. The requisitions of the world for cotton increase at the rate of about six per cent. per annum. An increase of our productive force will, perhaps, be necessary under ordinary circumstances. An extraordinary increase of it will only result in driving Egypt and India from the market. In doing so, there would be the necessity of but a slight reduction from its present price. And with the whole field of cotton open to us, and with that field expanding every hour, it is not to be supposed that the cultivation of that product will ever be much less profitable than it is at present.

But, if so, the profits of cotton are now so much above the range of other staples—transcending—that, rice, sugar, hemp, tobacco, fruits, the vines, perhaps tea and coffee, and the grains, the grasses, and the arts, are ready to our hand. It is even now a question whether each of these may not be rendered, by the same attention, as productive. Crushing cotton down, we will only find a broader base to start from for further operations—and, as the slave affords the most efficient form of labor this world has ever seen, we will find the harvest of monopoly in every other field on which we may enter.

The next great want of the South is of slaves. If a democracy—a social state in which all are absolutely equal—were certainly the best, we would not only not want more slaves, but we would be concerned to rid ourselves of those we have already. But we have not so thought; on the contrary there is a growing feeling of contentment with our institution, and if there were now the liberty of choice we believe there are few at the South—perhaps few of intelligence at the North even—who would industriously elect the form of society that is here established. But whether so or not, its existence as a great fact is unquestionable, and it is either for us to abandon and evolve it, or to press it onward to maturity; and to its just maturity there is a necessity for a greater relative proportion of the subject race.

Before the suppression of the slave trade, the two races were nearly equal, and it is probable that they would have so continued. Both were free to come, and as they naturally settled in proportions of equality, it is probable under ordinary circumstances, that that is the due proportion between them.

But when the slave trade was cut off, the natural tendency became disturbed. The opening South demanded population; the white race could come, the colored could not, and hence it has happened they are no longer equal. To 3,500,000 slaves there are 6,500,000 masters; and upon the supposition that they should be at least equal, there are 3,000,000 masters in excess, who are unfixed, therefore, and without a proper slave basis to sustain them. These add to the political power of the South—they add to the prosperity and progress of the South, but they add nothing to the strength of slavery. They form no part or parcel of the structure. They do not look at it with repugnance, perhaps, for it is popular at the South to admire it; they would not abolish it, for they would share in the ruin of its loss; they will not permit it to be disturbed by others, for if an "ulcer," it is at best our own, and "we will let no others scratch it;" and it may be even true that those sections the most ready to resist aggressors—the most vigilant to mark encroachment—will be those where they are, in proportion, the fewest slaves; but there is still the feeling that we do not share directly in the institution, and of this feeling the indications are abundant. In Delaware and Maryland there is scarce an effort to defend slavery; in western Virginia it has been proposed to plant a colony of abolitionists; in Kentucky there has already been an effort at emancipation; in Missouri there is a freesoil party to contend for power; in Tennessee, and even Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, there are a large class of persons who have to make their own bread with their own hands, and these are distinctly conscious that there is a difference between "labor" and "slave labor." They send that consciousness into the legislatures of their several States—and in South Carolina alone, perhaps, of all the Southern States, where there is an excess of 100,000 slaves, it is safe to hold that there is, and ought to be, no difference, and that it is not politic and is not proper to restrict the slave to such a range of occupations as will keep him out of competition with the white man.

This condition, painful, if it be not perilous, would be alleviated by the foreign slave trade. That will diminish the disparity of numbers. But it will do more, and remove another difficulty also. Under present circumstances, it is not only impossible that 6,500,000 of freemen can each own one of 3,500,000 slaves, but, at present prices, it is almost impossible that the mere laborer can ever do so. It is long, under the most favorable circumstances, before he can make one thousand dollars, and making it, it is longer still before he can come to risk so much upon a single venture. However much he may wish a share in that desirable commodity of slave

labor, it is done up in packages too large for common use; and thus, therefore, with every disposition to be a slave owner like his neighbors, he is barred from that position. The foreign slave trade will bring slaves enough for all, and at prices which poorer men may purchase. These slaves may not be so desirable, but, at prices to be paid for them, they will yield abundant profits. It will thus render it possible for all to become slave owners; it will render it profitable to become so; it will thus bring all the ruling race to the same social stand point; it will thus reintegrate and erect our social system; it will abolish the odious distinctions between slave owners and non-slave owners; it will increase the laboring element of our population; it will thus extend our capacity for production, and, in doing all this, will give the promise of a more abundant wealth, and open the prospect to a broader and a brighter future than was ever yet expanded to the eye of man.

It is objected, by way of offset to these considerations, that savages from Africa would disturb the peace and order of the country. But we have failed to find the ground for such an apprehension. It might be enough to say, perhaps, that the risk would be with owners. If there would be danger they would be the first to feel it, and the evil, therefore would cure itself. For if there would be none to purchase, there would be none to come. But we see no reason for believing that negroes would be more savage now than they were at an earlier period of our history; and in the sea-board districts of the South where slaves in thousands came, there is no record of this evil. When native Africans were first imported, our population was sparse and the country was covered by an almost unbroken forest. At a later period it was overrun by a foreign enemy. Every district, and almost every plantation was visited. The slaves were offered liberty for desertion, and rewards for the plunder of their masters. The opportunity and inducements to disorder were most abundant, and it must be owned that the character of this people was fairly tried; but the record is a fair one. Not only was there less disturbance than is usual in a laboring population, but instances of fidelity were singularly marked. They resisted solicitations to escape; they cultivated lands abandoned by their masters; they protected property they were incited to destroy. And this Committee are assured that of such savages, brought from the wildest regions of Africa, there have been some of as faithful and efficient slaves as have ever lived. Upon the assumption that slavery is an explosive mixture, there might be danger in bringing, from any source, the dangerous material. But this is not so; on the contrary there are

securities of order here which exist in no other form of society.

In all democracies, and, in fact, in every constitutional government, there is the right of individual action, and the citizen may meet and discuss the evils of their state, and resolve, in fact, upon the mode and measure of redress, before it shall be lawful to arrest him. And so, even in the despotism of France, they meet and chant the Marseilles, and march upon the Bastille before they encounter the forces of the Empire. But not so the slave. To him there is no liberty of individual action. Hard as it may seem, he cannot move without permission of his master. To him, therefore, there can be no march, no arms, no chaunt, no meeting, even, without a violation of authority. The first step is an act of insubordination, upon the right to punish which there is no restraint; and whatever may be said of the hardship of that condition (which is not now the question) it must be owned that it is intensely conservative of peace and order. Elsewhere it is legitimate to meet the *process* only, but here it is permitted to crush the *germ of insurrection*.

Not only so, but here, also, there is the further security that power is distributed. In forms of merely political despotism there is but one centre of authority, and that may fall, through the faithlessness or inefficiency of its officers. Here, however, there is not one centre only, but a thousand centres, and there can be no fall from faithless and insufficient officers. There can be no faithlessness, for the master is the conservator of his own person and his own power. There can be no fall from inefficiency, for with masters clothed with respect to their domestics, in every attribute of sovereignty, at every mile of space over the whole South, it is impossible that all can be unmindful of their duty. One may be loose but another holds, and thus, therefore, if there be disturbance, it must be confined in its effects to that master whose heedlessness permits it to occur. There is the possibility of an insurrection of children against their parents, or of wives against their husbands, for those have more intelligence, a larger liberty, and as many motives to disorder, but of the rising of slaves against their masters there is not the remotest possibility.

It is further objected, that if such slaves shall be allowed to come, they will come in great numbers, and that, as the slave States will be hemmed in by free States, they will crowd the South to a kind of social suffocation; but this committee see no such cause of apprehension. They see no reason for believing that they will come in any greater numbers than are wanted by the South, or that it will be profitable to bring

them after it will be dangerous to do so; nor do we see the reason for believing that the slave States will be hemmed in by the free States, for we believe that an importation of one or two hundred thousand slaves will enable us to take every territory offered to the West—it will not then be necessary to fight, as we have had to fight for Kansas, but mere slaves will win the battle for us. Those offered at paying prices will win the hearts of even abolition emissaries, and point their rifles against the North; and with slaves, therefore, only sufficient for the work of pioneer advancement, we will open to the institution of domestic slavery the whole broad plain from the Mississippi to the Pacific. Nor even, without this, do we see the reason to dread a density of population. Slaves can be as dense as freemen; the discipline will be greater; the order will be greater; the economy of resources will be greater; nor, in fact, in sections of the South where slaves are densest, is there yet exhibited the slightest possible approach to an evil resulting from an over-crowded population—and in the Republic of Attica, where the slaves were of the same race as their masters, and where they exceeded them as four to one in number, there was a population more than twice as dense as is that of any State of modern Europe. Supposing, therefore, that they are only capable of equal condensation, there would be space enough for all who, by any possibility, can come. In Belgium there are 388 persons to the square mile, and with equal density Florida will hold the present population of the Union, and the slave States, without including territories, will hold one-half the present population of the globe.

Admitting, however, as many do, that the foreign slave trade will not injure the savages of Africa, or directly injure the people of the South, it is yet contended that it will bring the South in contact with foreign States, or, at least, that in pressing it to adoption, we will break the Union; but to these assumptions we do not assent. It is not true, as is assumed, that foreign States are tender on the score of human rights. England crushes India; France, Algeria; Russia, Prussia, and Austria, have parted Poland—all march to opportunity; and if forced to look for European morality in the history of European States, we will find everywhere an unequivocal assertion of the one great principle, that power is virtue, and weakness only crime. Nor is it true that European States are hostile to the spread of slavery at the South. They are hostile to this Union; perhaps they see in it a threatening rival in every branch of art, and they see that rival armed with one of the most potent productive institutions the world has ever seen. They would crush India and Algeria, to make

an equal supply of cotton with the North, and, failing in this, they would crush slavery to bring the North to a footing with them; but to slavery, without the North, they have no repugnance—on the contrary, if it were to stand out for itself, free from the control of any other power, and were to offer to European States, upon fair terms, a full supply of its commodities, it would not only not be warred upon, but the South would be singularly favored—crowns would bend before her—kingdoms and empires would break a lance to win the smile of her approval, and, quitting her free estate, it would be in her option to become the bride of the world, rather than, as now, the miserable mistress of the North.

Nor will the slave trade measure surely break the Union. It will deprive the North of her preponderance of political power, and it will be opposed, therefore, by political tradesmen at the North; but, to the mercantile and commercial interests of that section, it will give a richer field for operations than they have ever dared to dream of. To the manufacturing interests it will give the promise of more abundant cotton, and of a wider market for their fabrics. It is interest, not sentiment or opinion, that gives tendency to political action, and these interests concurring, can control the North. The people of that section love power, but only for its profits. They will take it, scheme for it, steal for it, perhaps, but they *will not* pay for it; and, if their interests lead them, as their interests will lead them to concur with the South in re-opening the foreign slave trade, they not only will not break the Union on that issue, but they will subsidize their venal representatives to press it onward; and not only, therefore, will it not break the Union, but, in giving the South the road to political security, it will present the only condition upon which the Union can be permitted to endure.

Under the influence of these considerations your committee are constrained to favor the re-opening of the foreign slave trade, and they propose, for the adoption of this Convention, the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That slavery is right, and that being right, there can be no wrong in the natural means to its formation.
2. *Resolved*, That it is expedient and proper the foreign slave trade should be re-opened, and that this Convention will lend its influence to any legitimate measure to that end.
3. *Resolved*, That a committee, consisting of one from each slave State, be appointed to consider of the means, consistent with the duty and obligations of these States, for re-opening the foreign slave-trade, and that they report their plan to the next meeting of this Convention.

## ART. II.—MR. HUNTER ON THE ENGLISH NEGRO APPRENTICE TRADE.

We reproduce in the pages of the Review, a portion of a speech made by Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, in the Senate, March, 1850, on the territorial question. Without wandering from the subject of debate, Mr. Hunter has elaborated the most thorough vindication of negro slavery ever produced in any deliberative body. It is hard to determine which are most admirable, its learning and research, its chaste, chisel cut, classic language, its calm philosophy, or its excellent temper.

Great as is this effort, it is only one of a series of almost equal intellectual feats displayed on the same subject by Mr. Hunter, at the session of 1850. The extract which we give has peculiar interest at this time, because it exposes the gross hypocrisy of England on this whole subject of slavery and the slave-trade. In the first portion of the speech the failure of West Indian emancipation is portrayed. He then proceeds to show the measures resorted to in the vain effort to retrieve her error.—EDITOR.

The British Government did not stand idly by, to behold the wreck of those fine provinces, without an effort to save them. They seem to have supposed that it was practicable to produce a state of things in the West Indies similar to what existed in the East, and endeavored to fill them with a laboring population, drawn from the colored and inferior races, who might be controlled and managed by a few whites, who would be enough to oversee and officer the gang as representatives of the British people, to whom the profits of this labor were to accrue. Accordingly, they have made great efforts, under the specious name of immigration, to import laborers from the Maderia isles, from the East Indies, and from the coast of Africa, so as to supply the demand for labor in the culture of sugar and coffee. The consequence has been, the creation of a new species of the slave-trade, equal, perhaps, in the horrors of the middle passage, to anything known in the old African slave-trade, before it was made piracy by the laws of most civilized nations. Governor Light, of Jamaica, in a letter to Earl Grey, in 1848, informs him of the mortality which occurred among a set of Africans imported from Sierra Leone in the ship "Arabian." Out of two hundred and thirty-eight, he says twenty-two died on the passage, forty-five were immediately ordered to the hospital, and the whole in a wretched condition! He reports that there were one thousand one hundred Africans in "the yard" (it will not do to call it "baracoon") at Sierra Leone, "who appeared very sickly."

*Report of the Commissioners of Emigration.*

"Enclosure 3 in No. 9, p. 107, vol. 46.—Of 266 persons embarked on board the Arabian, 22 died on the voyage; 46 were taken into the hospital, of whom 17 had died; and scarcely any expected to survive.

"Ibid, 107.—All the witnesses agree in representing the principal cause to have been the state of disease and debility in which the Africans were embarked at Sierra Leone. It is said that many of these persons, when taken on board, were so weak that it was necessary to lift them over the bulwarks of the vessel; that some could hardly stand; that their appearance was that of persons who had been lately sick or half-starved—a supposition which seems to have been partly suggested by the voracity with which they ate when they came on board; and that the deaths commenced the day on which they sailed from Sierra Leone. It is also stated by the surgeon, that their sickly state was noticed by him to the emigration agent, who, however, appears to have made light of it, by adding 'that the other Africans were all that way in the yard.'"

"Enclosure 2 in No. 9, p. 105, *ibid*.—Speaking of four vessels engaged in this business: 'We regret to state that, in all these vessels, except only the *Morayshire*, a considerable mortality has taken place.'"

But, Mr. President, one would suppose that this new species of the slave-trade would have at least diminished the other, which has so long and anxiously engaged the attention of philanthropists. But so far from this being true, the documents prove conclusively that this trade has increased greatly in extent and with aggravated horrors. An extract from the *London Times*, to be found in the number of the *Democratic Review* to to which I have before referred, and taken from official sources, proves that trade to be vastly on the increase, and that it is increased or diminished in a ratio corresponding very nearly with the rise and fall in the price of sugar. Wherever we turn, then, the experiment proves itself to have been disastrous or illusory; nor has it even attained that abstract good, for which so much of human happiness and social prosperity were sacrificed. The Africans—the laboring class—are not, in fact, free; they have changed masters, and changed to their own disadvantage. They are no longer the slaves of one master, but of many. They belong to an abstract being—the Government—and have gained nothing by the change of owners. I found that, in all the schemes for relief from the planters themselves they proposed additional restrictions to enforce the labor of the ex-apprentices. I saw, too, that Earl Grey felt the necessity for this, and was willing to do what he could, without offending public sentiment at home, to attain this object; and it occurred to me to see what were the existing regulations which had proved so inadequate. I found them stringent enough; and as a specimen, I present you with an extract from the first section of the law passed from Jamaica; and there is a general similarity in all those laws. Here it is, sir:

"See volume 45, page 1, 5 Victoria, cap. 43; passed January 14, 1842, for Jamaica. First section prescribes, that if a servant be guilty of certain offences therein specified, or shall be guilty of any other misconduct, mis-carriage, misdemeanor, or ill-behavior, in his or her service, or in the execution thereof, or otherwise, respecting the same, every such offender, on conviction thereof, before any two or more justices of the peace of the parish or precinct where any such offence shall be committed, or where such servant

shall be found, shall, at the discretion of the said justices, forfeit and pay a fine or penalty not exceeding three pounds, or be committed to the common jail or house of correction of the said parish, there to be imprisoned only, or to be imprisoned and kept to hard labor for any term not exceeding thirty days."

These white justices, members of the ruling race, have the right to punish these laborers, not only for specified offences, but for the very definite crimes of "misconduct, miscarriage, misdemeanor, or ill-behavior." They may keep them, too, at "hard labor." How, if it be not by the lash, or some greater physical punishment? Mr. President, these unfortunate wretches are, in truth, slaves still; but ours is a slavery more efficient and happier than theirs, in the precise proportion that the individual management of a farm or a factory would be better than that of a government through its agents. It is obvious from all this, sir, that these beautiful islands are fast falling into waste, and their colored inhabitants relapsing into barbarism. It is plain, too, that the public authorities, both at home and abroad, see and feel these facts; and it is probable that they would gladly retrace their steps, if public opinion would permit, and such a step were possible. It would be reflecting upon the power of observation—upon the wisdom of their governors—to suppose otherwise. Those beautiful islands of our eastern sea, were adorned after the cunningest pattern of nature, for the delightful abodes of civilized man. Has Great Britain a moral right to withhold them from the uses of civilization, and devote them to perpetual waste and barbarism? Any civilized nation which had the power, would have the same right to wrest those islands from her leaden rule, and dedicate them to the purposes of civilized man, that she had to take this continent from the Indians who once possessed it. The Indian occupation was more hopeful and happier, than such a rule as the present promises to be, in those beautiful but misused and ruined colonies.

Mr. President, I have presented you with no exaggerated picture of the results of this experiment of the British Government. Can any man, from mere abstract considerations of right and wrong, pronounce a measure, which leads to such consequences, to have been good and proper? Is there a philanthropist in all the land, who would risk a repetition of such measures, with the teachings of this experience before him? Suppose that, in 1833, African slavery had been abolished all over the world—in the colonies of France and Spain, in Brazil, in the United States, wherever, in short, it existed—what would have been the consequences to mankind? Why, sir, cotton and sugar would have disappeared as staples in the markets of the world. I do not pause to calculate the effects

of such a measure upon the internal concerns of the societies in which slavery existed. I ask how such a policy would have operated upon the world at large? No cotton! No sugar! But little coffee, and less tobacco! Why, how many people would thus have been stricken rudely and at once from the census of the world? An intelligent member from Alabama, in a recent and striking letter to his constituents, has said, that the entire loss of one cotton crop in the United States would produce more misery and ruin in Europe than any two of Napoleon's most destructive campaigns. He presented truth in a striking, but not an exaggerated, form. If there be any reliance to be placed upon the English statistics, as to their interest in the cotton manufacture, there are more, probably far more, white people out of the Southern States, whose subsistence depends absolutely upon the cotton crop, than there are in those States themselves. Such a blow to the human race was never dreamed or imagined as would have been struck, had the philanthropists of Exeter Hall possessed the power of legislating for the world in 1833, when they accomplished, so far as the British Government was concerned, the object of their wishes.

But, Mr. President, the philanthropists of our day refuse to regard measures in the gross; they refuse to take the test of experience, but insist upon recurring to simpler propositions, and what they call fundamental principles. Slavery, they say, is abhorrent to the conscience of every right-minded man; it is repugnant to the best feelings of our nature, and a matter as to which it is now too late in the day to reason. I know, sir, that these ideas have become so common, that they are now matters rather of sentiment than of opinion, and the harder to combat for that reason. And yet it is an abstraction upon which no one acts, or can act, at home. What is slavery, Mr. President? This question has been asked here before, and never answered as yet; for answer it who may, he will find that the definition will embrace evils which exist at home. I shall be told, perhaps, that it is "involuntary servitude," and that involuntary servitude, except for crime, is abhorrent to God and man. Why, sir, involuntary servitude exists in the only government which we know certainly to be of Divine origin—I mean, sir, the family government. The child is subject to the father throughout the world, and according to our practice, for more than a third of his life; the father is the head, and rules the household. It is true, that this government is tempered by natural affections and instincts, which soften and endear it to its subjects; but is not the establishment on a Southern plantation a modification and extension of the same family government? The ties

which bind them together are not so close, nor the affections so warm, as in the family proper; but still those ties are far closer, and those affections far warmer, than persons imagine, who have no actual knowledge of the relation between master and slave, as it exists in the South. But what is involuntary servitude—what is slavery—as I asked before? I know of no voluntary servitude, except the labor of love. The socialists tell us that the institution of wages is an institution of slavery; and surely all servitude for wages is involuntary, and therefore a state of slavery, according to the common definition. We serve for wages, to avoid something which is more painful to us than serving another; and upon what other principle is it that the African works for us? Will any man pretend to say that the servitude of the laborer, in the crowded populations of Europe, is voluntary? Go into the English colliery, and tell me if those boys who are hitched to carts by dog chains, to draw coals, through the dark, damp, and narrow passages of the pits, are voluntary servants; if those women who toil like beasts of burden, without even the blankets that cover the coach-horse, are voluntary servants; if those beings who know nothing of the most essential truths of religion—nothing of the most common facts in human history, who pass through life, knowing nothing, caring nothing, and fearing nothing, but the task-master's edict and the task-master's lash—for it seems the lash is used there, too—are to be considered as serving less from compulsion than our Southern slaves? In point of moral culture, and physical comfort, who can doubt that the Southern slave is the superior? But it may be said, that that condition of the father is not inherited by the son; he has at least a chance to rise above the social position of those from whom he sprung. A chance to rise above this condition! The child inherits it as certainly from its parents, by the force of circumstances, as if it descended to him by positive law. What chance has the child for moral culture, or social advancement, who is sent to labor at six, eight, or ten years of age, and labors twelve, fourteen, or sixteen hours a day, as a living fixture to a spinning machine. Chosen, because his limbs are supple, and his will obedient, he winds and turns amid the machinery, until his limbs grow crooked, and his body becomes misshapen and deformed. A victim to premature vice and sordid ignorance, what can he hope, except to tread the weary round trodden by his father before him—from the cradle to the factory—from the factory to the poor-house—and the poor-house to the grave? The Southern slave has a far better chance to become a free man, by emancipation, than the child of the lowest class of English laborers has to rise above the condition of his father.

Mr. President, if we recognize no law as obligatory, and no government as legitimate, which authorizes involuntary servitude, we shall be forced to consign the world to anarchy; for no government has yet existed, which did not recognize and enforce involuntary servitude for other causes than crime. To destroy that, we must destroy all inequality in property; for as long as these differences exist, there will be an involuntary servitude of man to man. Your socialist is the true abolitionist, and he only fully understands his mission. Sir, it is well that we should consider where these abolition doctrines will lead us. The property-holder of the North may experience no inconvenience from them as yet; but his time will come—sooner or later, it must come. There are schoolmasters already abroad in the North, who understand their mission, and know how to estimate the force of the machinery by which the institutions of property are to be shaken and disturbed. But it is said that the public opinion of the world is against us, and therefore it is useless to argue this question of slavery. What if public opinion is against us? If it be wrong, may we not take issue with it? The public opinion of the world is against republican government; shall we abandon, therefore, our institutions, or shall we not seek to revolutionize it—as to some extent we have done—by the force of our example and precept? But is it true that the opinion of the world is against slavery? There is not a civilized nation upon the globe—certainly none of consequence—which has not tolerated slavery through the greater period of its existence. There is not a nation of antiquity, or of mediæval Europe, in which slavery did not exist. From the earliest dawn of human history, up to the present period, a majority of mankind have recognized its legality.

At the time of the decision in the Somerset case, Lord Mansfield said that Lord Hardwicke had declared in 1749, that—

“He did not conceive but that a man might still become a villain in gross by confessing himself such in open court.”

Dr. Dunning said in arguing the Somerset case:

“If my learned brother, the serjeant, or other gentlemen who argued on the supposed subject of freedom, will go through an operation my reading assures me will be sufficient for that purpose, I shall claim them as property.”

In the argument of that case, it was admitted on all hands, that colliers in Scotland could be sold for life, along with the mines. But Great Britain herself recognized African slavery in her colonies at that time, and up to 1833; and now, sir, slavery is recognized in the Russian, the Austrian, the Spanish dominions, in Brazil, in the United States—in short, in governments embracing a majority of the civilized world. But

I shall pursue this question of human rights no further. I have entered into it thus far for the purpose of showing that our rights might be accorded to us, without giving just cause of offence even to the most fastidious conscience. I have been endeavoring to prove that these abstract principles, which have led to attacks upon our social organizations in the South, if faithfully pursued, must cause the overthrow of every existing government. But be this as it may—be the public opinion of the North or of the world whatever it may—our constitutional rights cannot, and ought not, to be affected by such considerations. It is so nominated in the bond, and we are entitled to the faithful performance of all the stipulations in that contract. If obligations, higher than the Constitution, forbid you to fulfill its stipulations, then you are bound in honor to say the contract into which we have entered is improvident; our consciences forbid us to execute what we have engaged to do; we have no right, therefore, to hold you to your engagements: let us then dissolve the contract, and give and obtain a mutual discharge.

But, Mr. President, can this Union be preserved, if the South is to be denied an equal right to participate in its advantages? Can it last, if this warfare upon the property and peace of the South is to continue? Can it endure, if the South, on account of its social organization, is to be put under the ban of the empire, and excluded from a participation in the right to acquire power and importance, because of its alleged inferiority? Sir, it requires but little knowledge of human nature, or of the operations of interest upon the human heart, to answer these questions. It cannot last, unless something is done to settle these differences, and compose the strife which so unhappily agitates us. I know it has been said that disunion is a remedy for nothing; that there can be no dissolution of this Union; and he who, under any circumstances, could propose it, would be guilty of treason. Why, Mr. President, are not these mere figures of rhetoric? Can any man seriously believe that there are no causes for which he himself would seek to dissolve this Union? Is it supposed that men grown, sensible men, would be deterred from defending their indispensable rights and liberties by the fear of such epithets? If the majority will not be deterred from throwing down the constitutional defences of the weak, by the fear of a dissolution of the Union, why should the oppressed be restrained by that fear from defending their rights? Suppose a majority in this Government were to establish a despotism, an autocrat, at the other end of the avenue, are there not States, East, West, North, and South, that, under such circumstances, would feel it to be their duty to separate

from such a Union—peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must? Or suppose a sectional majority should govern here, without regard to the limitations of the Constitution, plundering and oppressing the weaker section constantly, and at discretion—in such a case, would not that minority be bound, by every consideration of honor and self-preservation, to dissolve their connection with such a Union, peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must? Could it be treason, in such a case, to take sides with your native State? Is there a man here whose heart, in such an event, would not prompt him to stand by his mother, long before he could take counsel of his head as to the propriety of the step?

Sir, if Virginia should ever think it her duty to separate from this Confederacy—and may God forever avert the necessity for such a step!—I should not hesitate as to whom my allegiance is due. Should she give the word of command I shall know her voice amid a thousand, and follow wherever she may lead. I may be anxious as to the consequences, but I can never doubt that it is my duty to obey. It is to the sovereign body of her people that my allegiance is due, and it is for them to bind or loose the tie which unites me to, or separates me from, any government to which I am subject at present. I owe duties to this Government, because, by the assent of Virginia, it is for certain purposes the Government of Virginia; but she who bound me can loose me when she chooses to sever the tie.

But, Mr. President, this is an unwelcome topic. I have been hurried into it by the announcement of doctrines so contrary to all that I learned in youth, to all the opinions of my manhood, and so contrary to the sentiments which I would transmit to those who shall come after me, that I could not forbear seizing this occasion to protest against them. Mr. President, there are two classes of the friends of Union—the one who see dangers which threaten it, and give warning of their existence that they may be averted—and another who will acknowledge the existence of no danger capable of destroying the Union, and thus lull those who conduct the Government into a false, and it may be, a fatal security. It will be for posterity to determine who were the best friends of the Union. I will preserve, if I can, the public peace and the union of the States; but higher than the public peace, higher than the Union even, I prize the indispensable rights and liberties of my native State. Short of these last, I would make any sacrifice to save the former. I am a friend of peace—my heart is naturally averse to strife. There is no one who contemplates with more satisfaction than I do the spectacle of peace—peace which reigns in sunshine, almost

unbroken by a shadow throughout the boundaries of this mighty Confederacy. But when I see so little appreciation of the true magnitude of the dangers which threaten us, I cannot but feel anxious and apprehensive. It is not my purpose to alarm, but it is my duty to warn, those with whom I am counselling, that there is danger; and although I hope for a safe exit, I do not very well see my way out of it.

This, sir, is a question which I take no pleasure in agitating --I would avoid it, if I could do so consistently with duty. I never speak upon it, if I can help it; but avoid it I cannot --it meets me wherever I go; in whatever business I undertake, it presents itself as the subject that will be uppermost. It is like the plague of darkness that rested on the land of Egypt. It pervades the world without--it fills the home within. It veils the political horizon from the rising to the setting sun; it obscures the cheerful light of the domestic fire; it darkens faces which have never known before the shadow of an abiding sorrow; and if it does not fill the American mind with apprehension, it disturbs and distracts it. It is the word on every lip, and the thought in every mind. I see nothing better to do than to discuss the question fully. It is here--let us deal with it at once. Let us see in what respects we can agree, in what we cannot concur; and if, unhappily, we cannot adjust the controversy ourselves, then we must make up the issue, argue it fully, and present it fairly, and as calmly as we can, to the American people. I shall await their verdict with much of hope, if not with entire confidence. The question will go then to every fireside; it will be discussed by every head of a household as a matter of the highest political interest to the family; and the verdict which will then be rendered, will be more momentous in its consequences to mankind, than any which a people have ever pronounced. Should it be just and temperate--should it be of a character to settle all differences and compose strife--I, and all who witness it, will feel that the problem of man's capacity for self-government has been fully solved by the American mind, and, what is better, the American heart--a mind which has proved itself capable of pursuing truth, and a heart which has shown that it was animated by feelings of justice, and the kindly emotions of fraternal affection.

Mr. President, the Senator from Massachusetts says he will not pause to consider upon what fragment of the wreck he is to float away. Sir, I wish he may always have the whole ship to sustain him, and that the stately hull with which he is so identified in fame, may neither dissolve into fragments, nor float away in parcels. And yet, sir, I feel more anxious--more apprehensive for its safety, than he seems to do, because,

perhaps, I am in a situation more exposed to danger. But he should recollect that things have changed, and are changing, since the crew first were shipped. We have lost sight of the old landmark. If there be a voice to command, we hear it not—a hand to steer, we see it not. Distrust and suspicion are fast taking the place of the generous confidence which used to animate the crew; a portion of them have been told that they were to have no common interest in the voyage—to share in nothing but its labors, its perils, and difficulties; and this, too, when the night and the storm are gathering around, and an unknown sea is before us. Is there no danger of driving them to despair? What if they should refuse to touch a rope, to hand a yard, to furl a sail? Will you threaten them with the pains and the penalties of the mutiny act? What if you do—if you should apply force—if you should overwhelm and master them? How long afterward before the winds and the waves would master you? No, sir; it is not thus that the ship is to be saved. With united hearts, with united hands, with united counsels, we can and ought to save the ship, the crew, and every hope and promise with which it is freighted. We may save mankind, whose gaze is upon us, the pain of beholding the spectacle of so vast a wreck, upon each fragment of which some portion of the crew would indeed float away, but each upon its separate course, and to a destiny all unknown.

We can and ought to settle this contest upon the principles of justice and of the Constitution—not, sir, by any half-way compromise, which would cover up and conceal the difficulty without removing it. Such patchwork would be illusory, and invite false hopes, whose disappointment would increase the bitterness of the dispute, when it was again renewed. The one party or the other might find some supposed ground for charges of bad faith, and thus new elements of strife might “embroil the fray.” On the contrary, a just settlement is a long settlement; it is good to-day, and as good to-morrow, or a hundred years hence. Is it too much, then, Mr. President, for the South to ask, that this Government should not be converted, either directly or indirectly, into an instrument of warfare on her peace and her property? Is it too much for her to ask to be permitted to take her seat at the board of family counsel, without being received with taunts, insults, and denunciation? Is it extravagant in her to expect that the provisions of the Constitution, inserted for her protection, and because it was the condition upon which alone the Union could be formed, should be executed, not according to their letter merely, but in spirit and in truth? And last, but not least, does she seek more than the Constitution guaranties,

when she asks that the property of every description of each and all the citizens of the United States should be protected by the General Government, wherever its jurisdiction is paramount, and its flag floats as the sole emblem of human authority? Can this last be refused, except by a denial of the right of property? Now, sir, what is there in all this to offend the well-settled opinions, or even the plausible prejudices, of any large portion of our fellow-citizens? We do not ask them to establish a new state of things, or to create anything which did not exist before; but to recognize facts, and to acknowledge obligations created, not by ourselves, but by our fathers, when they formed this Union, to which we are all attached. We ask for peace and justice: is this too much for one man—for one brother—to expect of another? Can the Southern States exist as the *confederated equals* of the Northern with less than this? Mr. President, I am deeply anxious to settle these exciting questions peaceably and harmoniously, not only now, but for ever, if any satisfactory settlement could be made so permanent. For this purpose, I am willing to sacrifice feeling, pride of opinion—if I have it—interests, even, if not of too important a character—anything, in short, which I can do consistently with the honor and safety of my constituents. But there is one thing I never will do; I will not sacrifice those rights which are necessary to protect the liberties of my native State, be the consequences of that refusal what they may. But, sir, I exhaust myself, and weary the Senate. I will pursue the subject no further.

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#### ART. III.—WASHINGTON CITY.

THE town is as natural as the country, for "it is not good for man to live alone." In the earliest dawn of human history, we find men engaged in building cities as the first act in colonizing and settling new countries. So universal with civilized races has been this procedure, that it must be a matter of instinct and necessity, rather than of choice, taste, or judgment. Cities are but human hives and honeycombs, and as much the natural residences of man as the latter are of bees. We have the most singular, concurrent, and abundant evidence of this theory in the words descriptive of town and country, in many ancient and modern languages. Politeness, politics, policy, polity, are all derived from "*polis*," the Greek word for city. Citizen, civility, and civilization, from the Latin term for city, as, also, "urbane" and "urbanity." Indeed, "*civitas*" meant as well a city as a State, showing that the Romans, like the Greeks, considered the country as the

mere appendage or appurtenance of the metropolitan town. "Metropolis" means the "mother city," and is exactly equivalent to our "mother country;" for it was the cities, in ancient times, that sent out all colonies. Rustic and rusticity, terms of depreciation, come from the Latin "*rus*," the country.

The Greek philosophers, in their works on Government, treat the city as the state, and the practices of the Greeks corresponded with the doctrines of the philosophers. Phenicia and Carthage were, also, mere city states; and, for many ages, no doubt, Babylon constituted, in great measure, the strength of Persia.

In reading Heroditus and Homer, nothing excites more surprise and admiration than the hundreds of little independent nationalities about and around the Levant. A highly civilized and wealthy metropolis, with a small, half-civilized territory about it, then constituted a nation.

The vitality of cities has been as remarkable as their influence on human destiny. Athens, Rome, and Jerusalem, are older than the annals of accredited history; and Thebes and Nineveh, though lifeless, are still grand and beautiful corpses, less changed in physical outlines than the mummies of Egypt, or the country that surrounds them. Neither the sands of the desert, nor the inundations of the Tigris or the Nile, have effaced their beauty, or diminished the interest which they excite. The palatial towns of Italy, built of ever-during marble, and peopled thick with innumerable chaste and lovely specimens of ancient and medieval art, attract many thousands of travellers, whose expenditures constitute the chief means of subsistence for the present indolent populations. Taking a mere materialistic and economic view of the subject, those cities and their costly specimens of art, were, like the pyramids and hecatombs of Egypt, good pecuniary investments; for, throughout all time, they will constitute the chief wealth of Italy. But great cities, their history and their relics, have answered a far nobler purpose in Greece. They delivered her from the barbarian rule of the Ottoman, by the interest and the sympathy which they enlisted in her cause. Byron is but a noble type and representative of the allies and deliverers of modern Greece.

It is a trite and common remark and complaint, that we live in a materialistic age. The pursuit of low sensual enjoyments, money-making and money-spending, have too much monopolized human attention. Art, in all its department, is neglected and declining, whilst physical science and mechanical contrivance, are daily developing new avenues to wealth. Nothing so checks this sensual spirit and these sensual pursuits, as the daily observation and contemplation of works of

high art. Elevation of sentiment, and purity of feeling, are cultivated and improved by travel amidst even the crumbling ruins of antiquity. The objects which we contemplate, the silence now reigning around them, and the long line of historical associations connected with them, combine to lift the soul above the groveling aims, the busy hum, and low ephemeral enjoyments of modern marts and cities. The day will arrive when the citizen, or the visitor, of Washington will be inspired with this elevating influence by the lovely specimens of art around him. Already many of her public buildings, by their grand and beautiful proportions, abstract the beholder from all attention to the every-day cares and business of life, excite the feelings of awe and sublimity, and send him speculating on that distant future when the immortal marble alone shall remain to tell of the past.

Washington has but a small population; she would be a far greater metropolis if her population and private residences were less, her public edifices more numerous. The marble is half hidden by the brick, for already private buildings conceal or obscure noble structures of Grecian or of Gothic art; and these structures, as they burst into view, excite the idea of incongruity by comparison with the more humble buildings around them. For the future greatness and glory of Washington, it is all important that Government should progress rapidly and liberally with public improvements; for those improvements will be sure to attract to her, in time, ample population. If the Government continue to pursue her present policy of liberal expenditure, she will soon, very soon, become the most attractive spot in America—the only city on the continent studded with works of art, and peopled by men of high intellect and reputation. Even now, unless our experiment of government has failed, she must contain more of intellectual accomplishment than any city of equal population in the world; for most of the officers of a government, over thirty millions of souls, are cooped up in what—compared with European capitals—is a mere village. The whole machinery of Government is here as much exposed to view as the works of an old-fashioned Yankee clock, whilst that machinery, in Paris or in London, is hidden and absorbed by the surrounding population.

It may be well for the public interest, that the working of our Government machinery, and the lives and character of our public agents are thus exposed to view, and readily subjected to criticism or condemnation; at least, it is a peculiarity that should secure to Washington a larger amount of intellectuality than is to be found in any place of the same numbers.

The growth of Washington will, in time, correspond with

the growth of our country. Judging from the past, in a century to come, our population will exceed that of any nation except China. It may require more than a century for this, our capital city, to attain a size corresponding with that of the nation, for it is much younger than the nation; but no event in the womb of time, if we consult historical experience, is more certain than that this Metropolis will eventually attain a growth proportionate to that of the empire of which she is the capital. The largest cities, irrespective of advantages of commercial position, have been Metropolitan. Havre de Grace, at the mouth of the Seine, although a great commercial depot, is but a village; whilst Paris, without navigation and far in the interior, is the second city in Europe. Ostia, at the mouth of the Tyber, was never more than a small town, and has long since ceased to be a town at all; whilst Rome, without advantages of position, was, for more than a thousand years, mistress of the world, with a population numbered by the million. Rome, and Paris, and London, owe their greatness simply to the fact that they were capitals of Empires. We might multiply instances to infinity to prove that the capitals of great empires were sure to become mighty cities, distinguished alike for population, power, wealth, magnificence, elegance, and intelligence.

But Washington, besides good navigation, beauty, and healthfulness of location, possesses other advantages of a peculiar and invaluable character. She is the only practically democratic city in America. The only one where ample provision has been made for the amusement and intellectual improvement and enjoyment of the whole public. Elsewhere private appropriation has monopolized all the gifts of God to man. No provision has been made for the innocent recreation and intellectual pleasure of the poor. Our cities are without lungs—without those beautiful and spacious parks that adorn and render healthful the cities of Europe. The poor breathe a fetid atmosphere, from which there is no escape. We have foolishly trusted to political equality to ensure social equality. It has had the reverse effect. In the battle-field of free competition, the few, wise, cunning, and provident have grasped what God and nature intended in different proportions for all. When our population becomes dense, a gloomy future threatens the unprovided poor. Already the wisdom of our ancestors, in the construction of our institutions, is, each succeeding winter, refuted by the sufferings of the destitute in many of our older States. We have “muzzled the ox that treadeth out the corn.” Better look this fact in the face now, when it is not too late to provide a remedy, than repent it in sackcloth and ashes when the hour of our tribulation

shall come. The voice and the arm of the people have become, of late ages, more terrible in their wrath than the voice and arm of an avenging Jove.

Mid the famine and desolation that swept over many of our cities during the last fall and winter, the prosperity of Washington stood undiminished. The rich did not fail, and the poor did not lack abundant and remunerative employment. It will always be so; for, in this national Metropolis, a wise, liberal, and wealthy Government, will ever find remunerative employment for a suffering and destitute laboring class. The citizens of Washington are the best represented people in the Union; for they are represented by the collective wisdom of the Union.

It is not, however, mere exemption from physical suffering that renders Washington a desirable abode for the poor. Human life were, indeed, a dreary waste, if mere animal comfort were its loftiest aim and highest attainment. The pleasures of taste and of intellect are here equally open to high and low, rich and poor. The most destitute here have, without money and without price, ever spread before them an intellectual feast, more ample and more delicate than the wealth of the millionaire can command in any other spot in America. The public buildings, the statuary and the paintings that adorn them, the many public libraries, the splendid parks and walks about those buildings, the National Museum and National Observatory, the free lectures at the Smithsonian Institute, the levees at the President's, the semi-weekly musical performance at the Capitol and the President's, are common property, equally open to all decently behaved persons. These things give a charm to Washington life for all classes of men. They are the rich man's enjoyment, and the poor man's property—property which no private cupidity or avarice can appropriate and monopolize, no judgment or execution reach and destroy—the only property worth having in America, where the spirit and practice of trade occasion so many mutations of possession, such frequent ups-and-downs in life, that to be rich to-day merely serves to aggravate the sufferings of the poverty of to-morrow.

It was such sources of common enjoyment that refined and educated the poorest citizens of Athens. Paris has become the model of fashion and centre of thought, because she is the most democratic city in the modern world—an Athens *rediviva*—with a world of art, of science, and of nature, continually spread out as a free and common feast for all of her citizens. Throughout the continent of Europe, large provisions of the kind we are describing have been made for the public. Hence, on the continent, despite of poverty and

want of school education, all classes are refined, and generally cheerful, happy, and contented. The want of such provisions in Great Britain makes uncouth boors of her poor, and coarse, awkward gentlemen of her rich. Her proverbial provincialism is not owing to her insulated situation, but to the absence of those sources of high public intellectual enjoyment that blend, give character to, and refine all classes. Washington is destined to wield a powerful influence on the future fortunes of the nation. Great cities do not now, as in ancient times, constitute States; but they still control, in great measure, the conduct and fate of States. Paris is often called France, and London almost rules Great Britain; for in London are collected and centered much of the wealth, and most of the controlling intellect of the nation. Our federative system will oppose some check to this centralization of power; yet, still the highest minds will ever be looking to Washington as the mount Olympus, on which they are to wield the sceptre, and whence they are to issue their decrees, and hurl their fulminations.

Fortunately for America, the interests of Washington are all conservative. Sectional misrule and oppression would speedily dissolve the Union, and the dissolution of the Union would be the death-knell of its Metropolis. The great power which she will attain to will be employed as umpire and pacificator, to heal dissension, to prevent sectional oppression, and to restore amity between opposing, hostile, and contending sections. If she act well her part, the centripetal influence which she will exercise will come in, well and timely, to supply the place of the cohesive power which the fear or the jealousy of foreign aggression exercised in the early and weaker days of the Republic. We fear not now a combined and hostile world. There is no power, no influence, *ab extra*, to keep us united as one people, in any sense of that term. We must have some power, *ab intra*, to balance the centrifugal propensities of our system. The whole of our future destiny depends on preserving a proper balance between the opposing forces of States-right and consolidation. Destroy either, and our history ends.

Opposing forces constitute vegetable, animal, and national life. Death is but the peace induced by the triumph of either force.

Living in Washington is far cheaper than elsewhere, if food for the mind be a part of living, as well as food and raiment for the body.

Life in Washington is more varied, more full of incident, more open to enjoyment, than in other cities of America.

Society here is most intellectual, because it collects, represents, and embodies great part of the intellect of the nation.

We have only made the acquaintance of one portion of that society, who constitute, however, a numerous class. These are the clerks and other subordinate officers of the Government, in and about the various Departments. Their very general intelligence, urbanity, refinement, and scholastic accomplishment, have filled us with surprise and admiration. This strange, social phenomenon, is in part accounted for by the fact, that, in general, it is such men only who can command influence to secure position; but mainly, no doubt, is attributable to that half-shrinking modesty, that social exclusiveness, and retiring delicacy and refinement, which the pursuit of scholastic or professional studies is apt to beget. Such men often prefer the quiet routine of subordinate office, to fierce competition, the hoarse tumult, and the rough and stormy struggle of ambitious or professional life.

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#### ART. IV.—JEFFERSON.\*

TIME is always holding a high Court of Appeals. He reverses the false decrees of popular opinion, lets in new light on the characters and events of history, and strips from its busy actors the various disguises that cunning or accident may have thrown around them. As in other courts, the progress is somewhat slow. It required more than a hundred years to inform the world that the trusted counsellors of William the Third were traitors, in constant correspondence with the abdicated monarch. It needed the research of Macaulay to detect the traffic of William Penn in the calamities of misfortune. At the end only of a half century, we begin to see clearly the motives that actuated our own distinguished politicians. We comprehend more distinctly the formation of parties, the views of leaders, the difficulties that beset the man whose presiding genius alone gave stability to the Government under which we live. Every new year brings out some new publication—letters, memoirs, history—imparting additional light from original sources. Of these Randall's *Life of Jefferson* is the last and not the least important.

Next to Washington, no man fills so large a space as Jefferson in American history. No one has exercised such extensive and continued control over the popular mind. His opinions have gradually pervaded every corner of the Republic. The universal democracy, unrestrained by class, orders,

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\* The *Life of Thomas Jefferson*, by Henry S. Randall, LL. D. Derby & Jackson, New York.—(Copied from *Russell's Magazine*.)

customs or usage, is the work of his hands. Whether it be for good or evil, his influence has shaped or modified the existing polity of the United States.

We will advert briefly to the incidents of his youth and education, pass lightly over the events which associate him with the Revolution, during which, apart from the "Declaration," his power was least felt in the National Councils, and turn our attention chiefly to the period when the Constitution was formed, and the great conflict of parties, which still continues under altered names, was fairly begun.

The paternal ancestors of Mr. Jefferson, were among the earliest emigrants to Virginia, of fair reputation and moderate fortune. His father, Peter Jefferson, was a remarkable man—gigantic in stature, of immense strength, and vigorous, self-cultivated intellect. A surveyor by profession, like Washington, he spent much of his time in the depth of the forest, braving danger in all its forms, and exhausting his assistants by superior strength and endurance. When at home, he devoted every leisure moment to the cultivation of his mind, and delighted in the writings of the best English authors. He married Jane Randolph, the daughter of Isham Randolph, of Dungeness, one of the most distinguished of the old Virginia families. In contradiction to the popular notion that celebrated men are most indebted, always, to the mother, the great Apostle of Democracy seems to have derived his prominent qualities, both physical and intellectual—his tastes and cultivation—from the other parent. The father died in 1757, at the age of fifty, the mother in 1776.

Mr. Jefferson was born on the second of April, 1743, old style, at Shadwell, in the hill country of Virginia, within sight of the Blue Ridge. Monticello makes a part of the tract. The plantation contained fourteen hundred acres of land, one thousand obtained by patent from the Colonial Government, and four hundred purchased from a neighbor for a bowl of arrack. It was a border settlement, surrounded by an almost unbroken forest. The old farm house has long since disappeared. Its site is marked by a few trees only, planted by Jefferson's hand. Here the future statesman learned to ride, to shoot, and to speak the truth, after the old Persian fashion, except only that he used a rifle instead of a bow, and shot turkies, which the Persians were not lucky enough to count among their game. He learned other things besides—from his father, to write and keep accounts; from Mr. Douglas, a Scotch clergyman, and afterwards from the Rev. Mr. Maury, he obtained instruction in classical learning and in French. At the age of seventeen he was sent by his guardian to William and Mary College to complete his studies.

On his way to Williamsburg, the young student spent the Christmas holidays at the house of Col. Nathan Dandridge, in the dancing, junketing, and general jollity and fun which were usual at that season of merriment in an ancient Virginia mansion. Among the guests he found a young man of coarse and ungainly appearance, tall, gaunt, stooping slightly, and in manners, dress, and pronunciation, intensely provincial. His face was pale, yet expressive; his brows were bushy and ragged, but they shaded an eye of fire. He talked of *waiter*al parts being improved by *larnin*, about the beauties of nature, the sky and *yearth*, but his deep sonorous voice attracted the ear. It was full of a strange power, and when raised to its highest pitch, it resembled the roar almost of a lion. His passion was for fiddling, dancing, and pleasantry. He told a story with sly humor, and was vastly clever at a practical joke of harmless merriment. The joyousness of his temper was inexhaustible. He was the delight of the young and gay, and the life of the whole party. The lively guest was a bankrupt merchant, but the calamity had not cast a shade on his countenance. He was like a distinguished lawyer of our own city, who also tried commerce before law, and on being informed one day by his partner that the firm had failed, replied with an air of great joy, "Failed! my dear fellow, I am very glad to hear it." With the joyous companion of his Christmas revels, Jefferson began an intimacy which lasted, with some chances and change during the rest of their lives. The companion was Patrick Henry. Three months afterwards they met again in Williamsburg. The broken merchant had studied law in the interval, and was an applicant for admission to the bar. A few years subsequently, in 1765, Jefferson, then a law student, heard him deliver, in the House of Burgesses, the terrible declamation which at once made him the leader and idol of the people, and placed him among the foremost orators of the world.

Jefferson left college at the end of the second year. His diligence as a student was exemplary. He devoted fifteen hours a day to his books. His acquirements were various and extensive. Unlike most minds, his took, with equal facility and pleasure, to mathematical science and the classics. He was an able mathematician, a good and even critical scholar in Latin and Greek, and read the most difficult authors with ease, habitually, during his whole life. He preferred Homer to Virgil, Demosthenes to Cicero, and placed the Greek dramatists among his favorite authors. His knowledge of French, as a written language, was thorough. At this time, or subsequently, he acquired a knowledge of Italian, Spanish, German, and Anglo-Saxon—the last, to facilitate a profounder

study of the science of law. He shared with Napoleon in the admiration of Ossian, and resolved to study Gaelic that he might read the original. For this end he wrote to a friend in Scotland to send him a grammar and dictionary of the language, with a manuscript copy of the original poems. Whether he ever got them, Mr. Randall does not tell us. When visited, in 1781, by the Marquis De Chastellux, Jefferson and his guest, who was also an admirer, recited passages of the old bard, over a bowl of punch, with equal enthusiasm. There were two branches of knowledge which he did not admire, ethics as a science, and metaphysics. He thought that every man carried about him in his own heart a sure arbiter of right and wrong, and that Sterne was a better teacher of morals than all the professors. It was the period when Sterne's maudlin sentiment was the fashion everywhere.

On leaving college, Mr. Jefferson became a student in the law office of Mr. Wythe, one of the ablest lawyers of Virginia, and his devoted friend. While a law student, he enjoyed the advantage of Francis Fauquier's society and friendship. Fauquier was Governor of Virginia, a man of ability, of various acquirements, refined manners, and infidel principles. In his company, the admiring student acquired the courteous address which made him acceptable to the saloons of Paris, and the infidelity, not less a recommendation in its brilliant and learned society.

At this time, Mr. Jefferson was a young man of striking appearance and engaging address. His face, although not handsome, glowed with animated intelligence. His complexion was ruddy and delicately fair; his hair luxuriant, silky, and of a chesnut color—his enemies called it red. His eyes, deep set and brilliant, were of dark grey, with specks of hazel. He was six feet two-and-a-half inches in height, slender, sinewy, active, and erect; an expert musician, a fine dancer, a bold and skillful rider, and accustomed to all manly exercises. His manners were simple and cordial—frank, earnest, sympathetic. He was always temperate, somewhat fastidious in his eating, never swore or gambled, and never defiled his mouth with the nasty weed of his native State. He was, through life, a curious and minute observer, exact in details, fond of diaries of the weather, of the markets, of everything that engaged his attention. In conversation, he turned its direction always to the subjects most familiar to his companion, and if anything was said worth remembering, he preserved it with method under various heads. In this way he picked up an immense fund of various and minute information on all subjects—the mechanic arts, farming, gardening, architecture, cookery—nothing came amiss. Mr. Calhoun

was remarkable for the same variety and extent of knowledge in all practical affairs, but how he got it is not so evident—Jefferson was a good listener, but Calhoun never listened at all.

We have said that Mr. Jefferson was a good musician; his passion was the violin, on which, at one time of his life, he practiced three hours a day. In 1770 his house was burnt. He was absent at the time. The frightened negro servants hurried to him with the disastrous news. The books, exclaimed his master?—all burnt. The papers? burnt too, said the messenger; but, he added, with a smile of exultation, we have saved the fiddle.

He was admitted to the bar in 1767, soon obtained a good practice and the reputation of a sound and able lawyer, but took no rank as an advocate. From some defect of mind or utterance, he never became a speaker in any position. In Congress, subsequently, he was like Washington and Franklin, who made remarks of ten minutes duration only on the main point under discussion, leaving it for the garrulous to mumble over the bone of debate in longer speeches. The worst of the revolutionary speakers, however, never indulged in the dreary harangues that afflict the patient people of the present day.

In 1772, Mr. Jefferson married the widow of Bathurst Skelton. She was born in 1749, and had been a widow four years. She was beautiful, accomplished, and rich, and to her graceful dancing, riding, and playing on the spinet and harpsichord, united the solid merits of an excellent housewife. So attractive a woman was not without a multitude of suitors. The story goes, that on a certain day when Mr. Jefferson and the fair lady were engaged in a duet—she accompanying the song on the harpsichord and he on the fiddle—two rival gallants called at the house and were ushered into a parlor adjoining the music room. The words of the song were so full of tenderness, the intonations of voice on either side so expressive, that the gentlemen soon understood their fate was already decided. They seized their hats and escaped without waiting for further inquiry or information. On the marriage the bride and bridegroom set out for Monticello. They encountered by the way a snow three feet deep—the greatest ever known in Albemarle—were detained on the road, reached home late, found no fires and nothing to eat, and bore “the horrible dreariness” with all the equanimity of a new married couple.

Mr. Jefferson had inherited from his father one thousand nine hundred acres of the best land; he had increased the number to five thousand, all paid for; his income was three thousand dollars from his practice, and two thousand from

farming; and his wife inherited forty thousand acres of land, with one hundred and thirty-five slaves. There were some debts which served to equalize the contributions of the two contracting parties to the common fund.

Mr. Jefferson's enjoyment of rural and domestic life was of short duration. The roar of the tempest was already heard that was about to desolate the country for so many years. He took an early, active, and decided part with the Whig party, was a member of the house of Burgesses in 1774, and, in June of the following year, succeeded to the seat in Congress of Peyton Randolph, its first president.

For some time after this period, there was no disposition expressed, none perhaps felt in any quarter, to do more than demand of England redress for the past and security for the future. But the British statesmen were obstinate and arrogant, the passions of the people in the colonies became more exasperated, and, in 1776, the talk began to be, not of grievances to be redressed, but of independence. On the 11th of June, a committee was appointed to prepare a "Declaration," and Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Roger Sherman, Dr. Franklin, and Robert R. Livingston composed the committee. Mr. Jefferson was requested to draw the paper. It was submitted by him to the examination of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, who made some slight verbal alterations, and, on the 28th of June, was reported to Congress. On the discussion, preceding its adoption on the 4th of July, in which John Adams was the "colossus of the debate," many changes were made and some passages struck out. Jefferson was restless with the pains of authorship, and Franklin, who sat near him, consoled him with the story of John Thompson. He had always, he remarked, been careful to avoid drawing papers to be submitted to a public body, and he had been confirmed in that resolution by a certain incident: "When I was a journeyman printer," he went on to say, "one of my companions, an apprentice to a hatter, having served out his time, was about to open a shop for himself. His first concern was to have a handsome sign board, with an appropriate inscription. He composed it in these words: 'John Thompson, hatter, *makes* and *sells* hats for ready money,' with a figure of a hat subjoined. But he thought he would submit the inscription to his friends for their amendments. The first he showed it to thought the word 'hatter' mere tautology, because followed by the words, 'makes hats;' the word was struck out. The second objected to the word 'makes.' The buyer, he said, would not care who made the hats if they were good and suited him. That, too, was struck out. The third thought 'for ready money' useless, since nobody in the town sold for credit.

They were given up accordingly. The inscription now stood, 'John Thompson sells hats.' *Sells hats!* said the next friend, why, nobody will expect you to give them away. *Sells* was abandoned, and hats went with it as unnecessary, since there was a hat painted on the board. So that the inscription was at last reduced to 'John Thompson,' with the figure of a hat." Whether Jefferson was consoled by the story we are not informed, but it certainly did not cure him of the practice of drawing up long papers to be submitted to public bodies.

In the same year Mr. Jefferson retired from Congress, took his seat in the Virginia House of Delegates in October, and began his series of reforms in order to place the State on a broad republican basis, making extensive alterations, civil, social, and religious.

In 1779, he was elected Governor of Virginia. During his term of office the State was invaded by Philips and Arnold, who committed great atrocities. It was again entered by Cornwallis with an overwhelming force, when La Fayette with some difficulty escaped from his clutches. A detachment from his army, under Tarleton, nearly surprised the legislative body assembled in Charlottesville. When the enemy were in sight of Monticello, Mr. Jefferson mounted his horse and rode off to the mountains in safety. The incident furnished his political opponents with a thousand jeers at the expense of the hero of Carter's mountain. They are very absurd, but that makes no important difference in such cases. He could make no defence against the enemy, and he was wise enough not to stay in the house until it was surrounded. But although there is nothing to censure, there is certainly nothing in the occurrence to expatiate upon with so much detail as Mr. Randall seems to think necessary.

He tells us that Mr. Jefferson directed his family to get ready for a journey; sent them off under the care of a young gentleman residing with him; employed himself in securing his papers; ordered his favorite horse to be shod and to be led to a point in the road to Carter's mountain; tarried a little longer with his papers; walked to the point designated with his telescope; saw no troops in Charlottesville; heard no tramp of calvary; thought the alarm premature; was about to return to his papers; observed after taking a few steps that *his sword had slipped out of the scabbard as he kneeled to reconnoitre*; returned to seek it; took another look through the telescope; saw the enemy close at hand, and rode off in the direction his family had taken. The retreat of the "Ten Thousand," or that of Moreau through the defiles of the black forest, hard pressed by Austrian armies, has not been related half so minutely. The sword which saved its master so

opportunistically, and in a manner so unusual for swords, ought to be preserved among the valuable curiosities of the Old Dominion. So far as there is anything of the heroic in the whole affair, the writer, like an unskillful artist, has thrown his principal figure into a somewhat disadvantageous contrast with the slave left in charge of the premises. Black Martin received the enemy with dignity. A trooper put a pistol to his breast and threatened to fire, unless he told which way his master had gone. "Fire away then," replied the undaunted black, and refused to tell. He might, however, have told without scruple. On a fleet Virginia horse, a bold and expert rider, like Jefferson, perfectly acquainted with the country, had nothing to fear. The heroism of the negro was unnecessary, and is perhaps apochryphal. It could not have been heard of from the enemy, and if Martin told his own story, it may be necessary to receive it with some allowances for the brilliant invention of the negro race. But if the tale be true, black Martin is the only hero of the occasion.

It is ridiculous to censure Jefferson for not defending the State without the necessary means. No Virginian gentleman, Mr. Randal says in his grand style of rhetorical flourish, would expect "the executive to emulate the exploits of Sir Bevis of Hampton, by mounting some trusty 'Arundel' drawing his terrible 'Morglay,' and putting to death, single-handed, twelve hundred infantry, or a legion of cavalry." Certainly not! yet it must be confessed that the executive had as little genius for war as for oratory; and that a bold leader, like Morgan or Mad Anthony, would have done something more for Mr. Randall's admiration than retreating successfully from Tarleton's dragoons.

As soon as the legislature had recovered from their fright and reassembled, a charge was made on the Governor for not using efficient means for the protection of the State. The charge was absurd, and was rejected unanimously. But the attack sank deep into the heart of the ex-Governor. He retired to his farm. *He resolved to have no further connection with public affairs. No slave, he said, could be further from happiness than the minister of a commonwealth.* He amused himself with the garden and farming, with the lathe and the forge; he could turn nice articles of cabinet-ware, and was not incompetent to shoe a horse. When appointed minister to France he refused. He clung to his purpose, he wrote his notes on Virginia, and devoted himself to the care of his sick wife. Mrs. Jefferson died in September 1782, and the afflicted husband being again urged to accept the appointment to France, at last consented. *He had folded himself in the arms of retirement, and rested his hopes of happiness on do-*

*mestic and literary objects.* But the death of his wife altered his views, and he was willing to seek a change of scene beyond the Atlantic. He took with him his eldest daughter, Martha, leaving two younger ones with a maternal aunt.

In France, the new minister was received with great favor. He had been appointed to act in conjunction with Dr. Franklin and Mr Adams. Franklin soon returned home, and Adams was sent to London. Jefferson remained the sole representative of the United States in the country where Franklin had served so long and so acceptably to both court and people. The new minister inaugurated his success in society with a "mot," one of the readiest ways to the general heart of Paris. "You replace Mr. Franklin," said the Count de Vergennes.

"No one can replace, I only succeed him," was the reply. He was not less successful in conciliating the good will of Mrs. Adams. She was a magnificent woman, and united a keen intellect with fine manners and all the severe exactness of puritan virtue. It is no small evidence of Mr. Jefferson's irreproachable reputation in private life, if he retained, always, as Randall says he did, the friendship of so severe and intelligent a judge.

The American minister associated with the learned and scientific; was intimate with Lavoisier, and corrected an error in Buffon's Natural History. Buffon refused to be convinced. It was a question respecting the formation of the moose. Jefferson wrote to a friend in New Hampshire, had the skeleton, the horns and hide sent to him; invited Buffon to supper, and convinced him by the most conclusive argument that he was wrong. The courteous Frenchman admitted his mistake with a bow and a compliment.

At the commencement of the French Revolution, Mr. Jefferson took a warm part in favor of the movement. His sympathies were, of course, with the people. Everybody's were, at the beginning. He gave no support to the excesses of the Republican party. He thought it proper to leave Louis a king, but proposed to shut up the queen in a convent. The queen, as he saw her, was a very different personage to the glorious figure seen by Burke "just above the horizon," full of grace, dignity, and beauty. Mr. Morris, who succeeded Mr. Jefferson at the French Court, equalled Burke in his enthusiastic devotion to the whole royal household, while the stern Virginia Democrat could perceive nothing in its most brilliant ornament but an obstacle to moderate and salutary reform. He thought that without the queen there would have been no violent revolution, and that the king might have become a limited constitutional monarch. But whatever

limits he may have judged admissible in relation to the changes of the French government, Mr. Jefferson was a thorough leveler as to his own country. He hoped that every title of distinction—*Excellency, Worship, Honor, Esquire*, and even Mr.—would disappear from among us forever, and, we suppose, he stopped short of this wish for the French people, only because they were not yet robust enough to bear such invigorating diet. He might well have become a reformer in the Society of Friends.

From a scene of increasing turbulence and coming horrors, Mr. Jefferson returned, in 1789, to his own country. He asked leave of absence in May, left France, in October, for Norfolk, by way of England, and reached Monticello on the 23d of December, where, in spite of "old master's" commands to the contrary, the negroes of the plantation dragged the carriage up the hill, and received him with an uproar of welcome more sincere than the glib compliments he had been accustomed to meet in the saloons of Paris, if not quite so refined.

He did not return to France. His leave of absence terminated in his appointment to the place of Secretary of State, in Washington's Cabinet.

The diplomatic labors of Mr. Jefferson in France, received universal applause. Mr. Jay spoke of him with high admiration. Mr. Webster has since said, he discharged his duties *with great ability, diligence, and patriotism; that his intelligence, love of knowledge and of the society of learned men, distinguished him in the highest circle of Paris; that no court had a representative enjoying higher regard in France than the minister of the infant Republic.* His dispatches were drawn with great vigor and clearness of expression, and were at once comprehensive and minute. We have no State papers superior to them, and very few that are equal.

Mr. Jefferson arrived in New York, to take his place as Secretary of State, in March, 1790, and entered upon a new field of political conflict. It was a most important period in the nation's history. The old government of the confederacy had failed utterly; the new one was under trial. The Constitution was a compromise of opinions and interests. The best men were divided in their judgments, and although they made mutual concessions to arrive at some conclusion, they made them reluctantly, and retained the fixed opinions which had so nearly rendered all concession vain. Mr. Jefferson, being absent from the country, had taken no part in the formation of the Constitution, or in the debates of the Virginia Convention on the adoption of it. Yet he had freely expressed his opinions. He was in favor of it, but not without

important amendments. The amendments were all, or nearly all, made, and the form of government became almost altogether what he wished it. But Mr. Jefferson, acting on strong democratic instincts, was always leaning to one form of administering the government and to one mode of interpreting its powers. There was another party which, also acquiescing in the Constitution, entertained, nevertheless, views to a stronger and more consolidated government, and strove to shape the limbs of the infant Hercules in conformity with *their* conceptions of beauty and strength. In the numerous debates of the General Convention and of the States, which ushered in the formation and adoption of the Constitution of 1787, these different instincts and leanings clearly appeared and quickly produced two distinct parties. These parties were the Republicans and Federalists; of the first, Jefferson soon became the leader, and Alexander Hamilton was the chief of the other. Washington belonged to no party. He stood alone, self-sustained. He appeased dissention, checked violence, and restrained the asperity of parties. For this purpose, he introduced the two prominent men of adverse opinions into his Cabinet, and completed the equilibrium by placing Knox by Hamilton, and Randolph with Jefferson—the one a Federalist, and the other a Republican. And now the great conflict began which closed in the complete success of the democratic chief. He was triumphant. He reached the chair of state, enjoyed it as long as he desired, and established permanently the power of his party. The success was perfect, and success, in a fair field, is no small test of merit. The opposite party failed completely, and it is not unjust to conclude that their notions of civil polity were less suited to the genius of the people and the wants of the nation. The fate of the preceding governments of the country illustrate the conclusion. Mr. Locke and King George had been obliged to give way to the practical wants of the colonists, and federal forms of interpretation and rule yielded to a similar cause in the States.

The fate of the federal party might have been a different one had it fallen under the leadership of wiser or more moderate guides. But Adams, its nominal leader, was rash and obstinate, and Hamilton, its chief, was a man of extreme opinions, held them with an iron tenacity, and carried them hotly and injudiciously into the administration of the new government. He was a monarchist in principle, and regarded the Constitution with contempt, enduring it only with the hope of making it something better. It was a step in advance of the old confederacy, he thought, and nothing more. In the convention, he had proposed a plan of government embracing substantially an elective monarchy and an aboli-

tion of the State governments. To this, his friends added a Senate appointed for life. The plan met with no favor, and the proposer took little part in the subsequent proceedings. Morris, his most intimate friend, and a leading member of the convention, says "Hamilton had little share in forming the Constitution. He disliked it, believing republican government to be radically defective." He thought it would do for the present, and that "some war might strengthen the Union and nerve the Executive." In 1802, he called it a "frail and worthless thing," and adds, "every day proves to me more and more that this American world was not made for me." It is unnecessary to multiply evidences of his opinions.

Hamilton's opinions were not confined to himself, nor is it at all surprising. In addition to the many loyalists who remained in the country, there were whigs enough who had made no quarrel with a regal form of polity. They had quarreled with the King of England for his tyranny. They had claimed their rights as British subjects, under the sanctions of English law. Even independence did not imply a republic. It merely asserted the right to set up for ourselves in the community of nations. The clumsy old confederacy—a bundle, not of sticks, but of straws—the growing disorders of the country, Shay's rebellion or disturbance, many things more, turned the wishes of thinking and cautious people towards a stronger and more stable government. Intelligent men, like Hamilton, knew but one government of that character—one under which they had lately lived, and whose abuses only they had made war upon. It was very natural to make it their model rather than plunge into the seething cauldron of undiluted democracy. It was Hamilton's model, and his hobby for life. He rode it, *Morris says*, to the annoyance of his friends, and to his own injury.

When placed in the important position of Secretary of the Treasury, it is not to be supposed that he failed to impart to the department, as far as he was able, the modes of action which came nearest to his own ideal. He was a man of great ability, self-confident even to arrogance, and bold and dexterous in forming and executing his measures. His ambition was inordinate. Between men who pursue power eagerly all their lives, without scruple as to the means employed, there is no solid distinction to be drawn. There may be shades of difference—one man is proud, another vain; one hot and excitable, the other cool and impassive; one cheerful, the other austere—but the master passion is the same. It is the men only whom power seeks who take it reluctantly, who leave it gladly, that really belong to another class. In this class Hamilton had no place.

The child, they say, is father to the man, and the character of the Secretary of the Treasury may be discerned clearly in his boyhood. At fourteen he was a clerk in a store, expressed his disgust at his situation, and wished for a war, that he might exalt his station. At seventeen he rushed into the Revolution; became, in a short time, the aid of Washington; was always discontented with his situation; resolved to take the first opportunity of breaking with his chief, and succeeded in doing so in 1781. Some slight misunderstanding occurred, and Hamilton resigned; and although the General made advances to a reconciliation, the Secretary refused to return to his post. It may be asked, why did he not resign before? His son has lately answered the question substantially. The aid was patriotically sacrificing himself to the reputation of his commander, sustaining the Revolution by directing its chief, and promoting the general good of the country at the expense of his own. We mention the fact merely to show the thorough self-assertion of the man. His ambition had slumbered only for the benefit of Washington, it had not slept.

Hamilton and Jefferson, although "pitted against each other," met with no unfavorable prepossessions. They were both men of genial tempers and manners. They came to their several departments with high reputation—the one for diplomacy, the other for finance. Jefferson being, as Randall assures us, a very modest man, and addicted even to blushing, although for so many years a diplomatist at Paris, and a lawyer besides, received the projects of Hamilton, in finance, with some degree of deference. He even assisted in one of them, or, as he says, held the candle to it. It was the assumption scheme. Hamilton proposed that the Federal Government should assume the debts of the States contracted, as they represented in the general behalf. The plan was violently opposed in Congress, and failed in the House. The excitement was immense. The feud was so great that the parties refused to do business together. The House met and adjourned. Hamilton was in despair. He met Jefferson, and walked him to and fro before the President's House; represented, in pathetic terms, the condition of Congress; the disgust of the creditor or Eastern States; the danger of secession by the members, and of a separation of the States, and asked his co-operation in allaying the storm by securing the project. Jefferson replied that he was uninformed on the subject, but invited his colleague to dine with him the next day with a few members of Congress. The project for *removing the seat of government* was, as yet, undetermined. Certain members, who had opposed the assumption, desired the selection of Georgetown or Washington for the capital. It was determined, after due de-

liberation over the next day's dinner, that two of the members should change their votes, *the financial scheme be secured, and Georgetown selected*. It was done, the assumption bill passed, and twenty millions of stock were distributed among a certain number of States. This project, and the funding of the national debt, which preceded it, produced immense speculations. Members of Congress, in the secret, despatched agents all over the country. The claims of old soldiers, who had shed their blood, of patriotic citizens who had expended their fortunes in securing the liberties of their country, were purchased for a trifle by greedy adventurers. Pilot-boats and swift horses were sent in various directions. The original claimants had long despaired of the justice of the country, or of its ability to pay its debts. They took whatever the speculator offered. The funding scheme made the schemers rich, at the expense of the old and broken soldier, and the generous contributor to the country's necessities. Every attempt made to secure their rights was opposed in Congress. Hamilton was above participating in the vulgar fraud, but his financial projects were the source of the villainy. To the funding of the *national debt* and the *assumption*, he added the establishment of a national bank. This measure produced a violent opposition in Congress. It divided the Cabinet. Randolph declared it unconstitutional. Jefferson, at the request of the President, prepared a paper of six pages against it. Hamilton answered all objections in one of thirty-four. The President hesitated a long time, and signed the bill with reluctance at the last moment.

The financial arrangements of Hamilton rendered him immensely popular with certain classes. The enterprising, the rich, the speculative, the talkers, the writers, extolled him to the skies. He came to be regarded as the great intellect of the country, to whom it owed, not its present prosperity only but past benefits of the greatest importance. He had been the guide, counsellor, and friend of the great commander, and not his secretary merely. He was supposed, now, to be thoroughly in Washington's confidence, and to speak his opinions. This conciliated another class of followers—the General's staunch friends—and Hamilton's influence in Congress overshadowed all others.

The conflicting theories and purposes of the two secretaries soon threw them into violent opposition. The *entente cordiale*, if it ever existed, was of short duration. The differences in temper and manner began to be felt. Mr. Jefferson was modest, as we have said, unofficious, retiring, had no trace of dogmatism, said little in discussion, yielded quietly when outvoted, never intermeddled in the business of other depart-

ments, and was not assuming in his own. Hamilton, on the other hand, was imperious and impatient in temper, adhered with *iron tenacity* to his plans in substance and letter, advanced his opinions dictatorially, argued them if opposed "with the vehemence of a jury lawyer," meddled without scruple in the departments of his colleagues, and was despotic as a Turk in his own. He was regarded on all hands as the uncontrolled ruler of the country's finances.

The belligerent secretaries preserved appearances for a season, but the feud grew stronger from day to day, and at last broke out into bitter hostility. Hamilton assailed his opponent in Fenno's Gazette. He charged him with bringing Philip Freneau, the poet, to Philadelphia, and making him a clerk in the Secretary's department, for the purpose of setting up a newspaper to abuse the Government. Freneau denied the charge, and issued an affidavit declaring that Mr. Jefferson had nothing to do with his newspaper. He had been engaged as translating clerk by the Secretary of State, and in that capacity only had Mr. Jefferson ever employed him. Hamilton treated the affidavit with contempt, and reiterated the charge.

These dissensions assuming so public a form, distressed and mortified the Chief Magistrate. His attempts at conciliation had proved vain. Parties were becoming more and more enraged against each other, and their leaders in his Cabinet set them the example. He wrote to the two secretaries, expressed his regret at their hostility to each other, and his wish for a better understanding. Jefferson replied by affirming his conviction that there was a party in the country seeking to change the government into something stronger; that this party had expressed monarchical views in the convention of 1787, and had never abandoned them; that they were now striving, by the corrupting influences of financial projects, to change the constitution, in *substance*, if not in *form*; that they had assailed him anonymously in the papers; that *his* opposition to them had been open and avowed; he had never resorted to anonymous abuse, and had never, directly or indirectly, published in any gazette, a line nor sentence not under his name. Hamilton, on the other hand, charged his opponent with hostility to the Government, opposition to the payment of the country's debts, and a general disregard of order and credit. He lamented the uneasiness of the President. He pledged himself to do all in his power to re-unite the Cabinet, and "not to *say or do* anything, *directly or indirectly*, that would *endanger* a feud." Six days afterwards he commenced a new series of vehement and virulent personal assaults on Jefferson, then at Monticello, under the signature of

"*Catullus*," in Fenno's Gazette. He went so far as to intimate a willingness to close the dispute in a hostile meeting. When informed by a friend of the attacks in the newspaper, Jefferson replied that he had early in life resolved never to write anything without putting his name to it, and never to engage in controversy with anonymous writers. Hamilton had no such scruples, and while engaged in daily counsel with his colleague, never ceased to assail him under various signatures, and to charge him with all that is base and contemptible. His abuse was not limited to the rival secretary. It extended through letters, conversation, the public prints, to all his political foes, and some of his friends, and led at last to the quarrel that ended in his death.

Mr. Jefferson left the Department of State at the close of 1793, and Hamilton resigned a month later. It is a mistake, Mr. Randall says, to suppose that there was any coldness between the Secretary of State and the President. On the contrary, Washington expressed the most earnest wishes to retain Mr. Jefferson at his post, despaired of being able to replace him, and sometime after the resignation, solicited his return to office.

The two ex-members of the Cabinet left their posts with equal reputations for ability. Hamilton's Reports are models in his department, and Jefferson's State Papers are unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled, in all the various excellencies that belong to such writings—in what Mr. Webster calls "the felicity and facility" of his style and argument. The two men were representatives of two adverse political systems. Without expressing any opinion of the comparative merits of these, or of the measures proposed for supporting them, and judging from the results only of the conflict, we are forced to admit that the Virginian was the deeper and more sagacious intellect. He has impressed his principles on the general system of the country. Those of his rival are condemned or forgotten. The excise of Hamilton was a failure, his bank system is exploded, his assumption was rashly adopted, with great loss to the country, and his favorite modes of government are no longer whispered among politicians or people.

In their personal demeanor and private relations, the advantage is still with the Secretary of State. He was more conciliatory, less imperious and domineering than his opponent, and left office with no stain on his reputation in social life. Hamilton was not so fortunate. While in an office of peculiar responsibilities, and watched by jealous enemies, he allowed himself to fall under the suspicion of speculation, by engaging in an intrigue with a married woman. The husband

was a base fellow, and received and extorted money for his silence. He was a speculator in stocks—the rage of the day. This use of the money received, as was understood, from the Secretary of the Treasury, produced a vague rumor connecting the Secretary with the stock market. It came to the ears of certain Republican members of Congress, willing enough to believe. Three of them, Mughlenburg, the Speaker, Venable, and Monroe, waited on the Secretary. They had heard the rumor, and thought it their duty to give him an opportunity to contradict it. Hamilton received the intimation with indignant anger, but condescended, nevertheless, to explain the circumstances connected with the rumor by a confession of his intrigue. It was an amour, he told them, and not a speculation. The gentlemen received his statement with implicit belief, and they parted mutually satisfied. Among politicians and men of the world, these affairs are a very small matter. But, unfortunately for Hamilton's character as a gentleman and a man, the story does not end here. In 1797 a false report got abroad that he might be a candidate for the Presidency. This report brought down upon his head everything that could injure him. It is the common course in such cases. Among other lies put in circulation, the speculation story was revived. Hamilton might have treated the tale with contempt. He was not a candidate. He could have remained silent. If he noticed the falsehood at all, he might have referred only to the fact that three members of Congress, his political foes, had conferred with him at the time and were satisfied. He did neither. He rushed into his favorite arena, and gave, in a pamphlet, a full exposition of the whole story. To the gross ears of the multitude whom he despised, he declared that he was a dupe; that an artful woman had drawn him into an intrigue; had kept up the intercourse by successful appeals to his vanity or affection; that he had bought the husband with a certain amount of hush-money, a thousand dollars at one time, and smaller sums at others. He admits that libertinism was his fixed character in the community, and does not deny the justice of the imputation. He permits himself to introduce an allusion to his wife in the shape of an apology for his conjugal infidelity; publishes all the pathetic letters of his fair friend, in an appendix, with the affidavit of another woman to prove the handwriting, and with cruel incivility leaves uncorrected all the lady's queer blunders in spelling, where she says that she hopes “to *se* her dear Col. *harmilton*, she is *A lone* and begs he will *rite* to her *whos* *grateest* fault *Is Loving* him, and clear up her *doupts*, *els* he will *leve* her with her breast the *seate* of *mutch* woe.” The age was not so blue as the present, and it may extenuate the offence

of the hard-hearted gallant that the exposure of her literary errors was not, probably, a serious affliction to the frail, fair one. It was a charge against Burr, that he was careless of the letters of his female correspondents, but he never published them. A team of horses could not have dragged from him the paltry exposition which Hamilton was willing to make to protect himself from an absurd, political slander. What gentleman, we may ask, in the circle of our acquaintance, could be driven to anything so degrading. Lord Cockburn, in his memoirs, describes a singular race of excellent Scotch old ladies in Edinburgh: a delightful set, strong-headed, warm-hearted, high-spirited, very cheerful, very independent, full of sense and humor, talking broad Scotch, and speaking and acting very much as they chose. One of these, a clergyman's widow, the mother of Sir David Dundas, dressed in black silk gown, and white muslin cap, with silver spectacles on her nose, was the centre, when seated in her high-back chair, of wit, merriment, and sarcasm. One day a grand-daughter, in reading the newspaper to her, stumbled upon a paragraph which stated that a lady's reputation had suffered from the indiscreet talk of her royal friend, the Prince of Wales. "What," exclaimed the old lady of fourscore, in her shrill voice, sitting erect in her chair, and shaking her shrivelled fist, "what! The dawmed villain! does he kiss and tell?" What would she have said of the gallant who not only told, but published the lady's condescensions in pamphlet form?

Mr. Jefferson returned to his farm once more rejoicing. Again his talk began to be of oxen. He was glad to take them in exchange for the blatant beast, Genet, the French envoy, whom he could neither lead nor drive, and who, by the way, married a wife, settled near Albany, and became a quiet and useful citizen of the Republic which he had so long perplexed and annoyed. The affairs of Monticello had suffered by the master's absence—his fields were impoverished, his stock diminished, the sheep reduced to three, and all things in disorder and decay. He set to work with ardor. His public career, he said, was at last at an end. His future life was to be one of rural labor, and domestic enjoyment. But, alas! for the vows or protestations of politicians. Three years after this time, on the election of Adams, Jefferson is again in the councils of the nation, as Vice President of the United States, and once more plunges into the surges of public life.

Time had not softened asperities. The last important act of Washington's administration—Jay's treaty—was received through the country with a roar of fury. It was burnt publicly in various places. Large meetings in the chief cities condemned it vehemently. The violence on the other side

was equally strong and unreasonable. The advocates of the treaty in the Senate rejected the nomination of John Rutledge, one of the most eminent men of the Revolution, and the friend of Washington, because he had taken part in a meeting at Charleston, condemning the treaty. He had already presided in court, under the President's appointment, and the rejection was the more mortifying to both. The violence of parties destroyed all social intercourse between them. In a letter to Edward Rutledge, Jefferson says that men of opposite parties no longer associated with each other. Those who had been intimate all their lives, crossed the street to escape a meeting, and turned away their heads to avoid touching their hats. When Mr. Adams spoke of appointing a Republican to the French mission, as Washington had done, his Cabinet offered to resign. There was no longer room for the policy of balancing parties in the Administration, and the President, if he had the wish, never made the attempt.

Jefferson, seeing the dissension, renewed his lamentations at leaving private life, rejoiced that the votes of the people had given him the second place only, which was "easy and honorable," instead of the first which was a "splendid misery," fell at once into the new position of parties, and became an avowed and decided opposer of the Administration. Even the marines, to whose patient ears the tellers of extraordinary stories and statements are always referred, might have been incredulous hearers of the Vice President's protestations. Time, at any rate, removed his scruples, and reconciled him to eight years' endurance of the *splendid misery* which he had so happily escaped on the present occasion.

Mr. Adams was as well satisfied with enduring misfortune as Mr. Jefferson was with escaping it. The President elect went into office rejoicing. He wrote to Mr. Adams, that during his inaugural speech, there was "scarcely a dry eye, but Washington's," and that "taken together it was the sublimest thing ever exhibited in America." In the flush of his success, he proposed to Jefferson to go as minister to France. At the first meeting of his Cabinet, however, the plan was abandoned. Some of the reasons that he assigned to his correspondents are curious enough. "We must not degrade ourselves," he says, to Knox, "in the eyes of foreign countries. What would be thought of the King of France, if he sent Monsieur, his eldest brother, as an envoy? What of the King of England, if he sent the Prince of Wales? Mr. Jefferson is, in essence, in the same situation. He is the first prince of the country, and the heir apparent to the sovereign authority, *quoad hoc*."

The rage of parties increased from day to day. One side

was accused of conspiring with the French for the invasion of the country, the other of being sold to England. There was the same amount of truth in both charges, and each was believed by those only who made it. Then came the alien and sedition laws. The first gave the President power to order any foreigner out of the country, and to imprison him if he returned. The last inflicted penalties on writing, printing, or publishing attacks on the measures of the Government, or on its officers. Under this law, Dr. Cooper, afterwards President of the South Carolina college, was fined among others. The moderate counsels and the neutral policy of the country which had marked the government of Washington were fast sliding away. War with France was becoming the popular cry. In 1798 an army was ordered to be raised. Washington was appointed commander. He accepted, on condition that he should control the appointment of the general officers.

It is commonly supposed, that in the exercise of this power, Washington gave the preference to Hamilton, as second in command over Knox and Pinckney. Randall gives a different version to the story. Washington proposed the appointment of Hamilton as inspector general with the rank of major general, and of Knox and Pinckney as major generals, intending the two last to be regarded as the senior appointments. But Hamilton's friends prevailed in the Cabinet and in the Senate, and the junior was made senior over the two veterans. The same power in the Senate rejected the appointment of Col. Smith, Adams' son-in-law, when proposed by Washington and nominated by the President. During the whole of Adams' administration, there was an influence behind the throne greater than the reigning monarch, *quoad hoc*. The influence was Hamilton's.

Hamilton was no sooner second in command than he began to urge warlike preparations with all his energy. He opposed every attempt at conciliation with France. He had an object. What was it? His purpose, Mr. Randall tells us, was to overthrow the Spanish power in South America; to do this by means of an English fleet and an American army, which he himself should command, and to establish in the revolutionized region a new government that should be agreeable to the allied powers. It is not probable that England would prefer a republic. Hamilton believed the government of England the best possible model. We may easily conjecture, then, what government would be established in the conquered Spanish provinces by the Anglo-American arms. To carry out this great project, in which King, our minister in London, the British Ministry, Miranda and Hamilton were actively en-

gaged, but which was a secret to everybody else, the war preparations were pushed forward *with the greatest ardor*. It was a magnificent scheme, and enables us to understand the readiness with which the American mind turned subsequently to smaller inroads on the Spanish power, with which we were always quarreling, and sometimes in actual conflict.

These things alarmed the Republican party. They were safe with Washington. But Washington was old and infirm. They distrusted the designs—although ignorant of the South American project—of his second in command, and certain successor. They saw “the crisis” approaching, and the day close at hand, of standing armies, a great national debt, enormous taxes, a strong government managed by corruption, and the “nerving of the Executive” arm. They began to look to the States for safety. Jefferson and Madison were soon employed in shaping out the doctrine of State-rights, in those mystical papers which have perplexed all politicians and their constituents to the present day. What is sovereignty and where does it lie, have become the puzzles of the American intellect.

The attempt to urge the quarrel with France to the issue of war, finally failed. In spite of the opposition of the Cabinet and of Hamilton’s “heat and effervescence,” the President sent new envoys to Paris, and an adjustment of all difficulties was speedily effected. Hamilton’s magnificent projects were blown to the *winds*. Peace with France removed all pretext for keeping up an army, and the scheme to revolutionize the Spanish colonies slipped from his fingers forever. From this day forward the Hamilton party persecuted Mr. Adams with a hatred more intense even than that which they exhibited towards the Republican leaders. It was a family feud, and therefore the more bitter. Mr. Randall distinguishes throughout between the body of Federalists who were patriotic in their views, even where he thinks them mistaken, and the followers of Hamilton, who were pursuing pernicious purposes by unscrupulous means. Mr. Adams knew nothing of the Miranda project. When at last approached, in a letter from Miranda, stating his wishes and views respecting the Spanish colonies, Mr. Adams refused to reply, or to notice the communication. With Adams there was no hope, and Hamilton looked around for the means of defeating his reelection. He would not, he declared, give Adams his support if the consequence should be the election of Mr. Jefferson. He prepared a formal attack on the President, in his favorite pamphlet form, and cabaled with Wolcott and Pickering to obtain materials, gathered in their confidential intercourse with Mr. Adams, in the Cabinet, to give point to the assault.

The pamphlet was issued. It damaged the author only, and that irretrievably, with his own friends. They were weary of his arrogance and dictation. The President's friends were outrageous, and Mr. Adams, himself, denounced his assailant as the greatest intriguer in the United States. Notwithstanding the opposition of Hamilton, and his attempts to get up another candidate, Adams remained the candidate of the Federal party. Mr. Jefferson, postponing his love of the farm, and his horrors of the "splendid misery" which he had rejoiced at escaping four years before, was the candidate of the Republicans.

The contest was general and warm. In New York the election went in favor of the Republican party. Notwithstanding his declaration that he would rather see Jefferson elected than Adams, Hamilton wrote a long letter to Jay, then Governor of New York, advising him to resort to a trick to defeat the enemy, and sustained his advice with the specious reasons that the ambitious are always ready with, to prove their projects essential to the public good. He admitted that the proceeding was out of the common course, but it was warranted, he said, by the crisis, and the great cause of social order. It was essential to the public safety. It would never do to sacrifice the substantial interests of society to a strict adherence to ordinary rules. Popular governments would prove engines of mischief, if while one party calls to its aid all the resources which vice can give it, the other confines itself to the forms of delicacy and decorum. Mr. Jefferson was an atheist, and his election would be a death blow to the religion of the country. The letter was found many years afterwards among Mr. Jay's papers, endorsed by him with these words: "Proposing a measure for party purposes, which I think it would not become me to adopt." There would have been no such scruples on Hamilton's part. He was ready to set aside ordinary rules and delicacy and decorum when substantial interests required it—the substantial interests of society, with a party man, mean nothing more than the success of his party.

The election was at an end. The Jacobin ticket was triumphant. As Hamilton preferred to see Jefferson elected rather than Adams, and yet had advised a fraud to defeat Jefferson's election, he must have had some ulterior project in view. The project was said to be the defeat of any election of President and Vice President, and the establishment of a provisional government in the hands of the Federal Senate—or, it may have been, by a general confusion, to bring about the crisis to which Hamilton, as Morris declares, was always looking, and from which he expected to obtain something

better than a Republic. The project failed, but a new trouble arose. The electoral votes for Jefferson and Burr were the same in number, and the election consequently went into Congress. The Federal party began to talk of supporting Burr. Hamilton suggested to put him in *for the plate*, desert and ruin him, but vehemently opposed any earnest attempt to elect him. An earnest attempt, however, his party resolved to make. They ascribed his opposition to personal hostility, to the fear of losing his State influence, to unwillingness that a President should be taken from New York, as it might interfere with his own aspirations. He threatened to leave the party; they disregarded the threat. The whole of the Federal members but one voted for Burr. The struggle was desperate, but vain, and Mr. Jefferson was elected President, and Burr Vice President, as the people intended.

As Burr was not elected President, the result was precisely what Hamilton desired and proposed. The contest was Burr's ruin. Jefferson hated him. His friends followed his example, and Mr. Randall, true to the cause, reviles Burr's memory in writing Jefferson's life, with the instinctive conviction that to cast unlimited odium on the one is necessary to the defense of the other.

Jefferson's intercourse with Burr began with cajoling him, and ended with an attempt to hang him. When it was rumored that the electoral votes were equal, Jefferson became excessively uneasy. He was frightened at the thought of missing the "splendid misery" of the first office, and of being kept in the second, which he so much preferred as *easy and honorable*. He expressed his apprehensions to his intimates, but to Burr, he writes as if there was no doubt about the result, whatever certain "high-flying Federalists" may intend. He congratulates him on the event of the election which had placed him in a position more honorable than any in the gift of the Chief Magistrate; yet regrets, for himself and the public, that he should lose Burr's aid in his arrangements. He had hoped to compose an administration whose *talents and integrity would inspire unbounded confidence in the public mind*, and adds, "I lose you from the list." He is afraid that the *evil genius* of the country (Hamilton) may beat down the administration. A few weeks after the election in Congress, Jefferson declared that he had always thought Burr a man not to be trusted.

There is no evidence that Burr took any part in the contested election. *The whole affair was out of his reach or control*. He certainly did not bring about the equal vote which led to the contest. It was by no influence of his that the Federal party resolved to support him. He was not present

to exercise any influence at all. He was at Albany, four hundred miles from Washington. For any intercourse between the two places, in the month of February, he might as well have been in the moon. The election was over in a week; it would have required three for any communication from one place to the other. It is not pretended that any letter of his has ever been produced, except one; that one, to Smith, expresses his resolution not to interfere with the wishes of the Republican party. Mr. Bayard, a leading Federalist in the contest, declared, after the election, that Burr had not interfered; that if he had, he might have been elected; that he (Bayard) thought less of him for not interfering. He subsequently declared and swore that he voted for Burr because he was the *best and ablest man*. This testimony is worth an ocean of the gossip in which Mr. Randall indulges. He begins every statement that he makes on the subject with the phrases, "it is said," "it was believed," "it was supposed," "it is probable," "it is possible;" and he winds up his reasoning with the declaration, that it does not much signify whether it be conclusive or not; that one baseness, more or less, is unimportant in a life of infamy, about the "general coloring of which there is no dispute."

Burr has been the object of so many slanders, one need not scruple about daubing him with another. Lay it on. They have been so numerous, one more, true, doubtful, or false, can make no difference. These defilements, coming as they do, remind us of the adventure of Gulliver among a certain filthy race that he compares to our own, when he was assailed from all quarters, very much in the same unsavory manner, producing a similar general effect. The coloring that Mr. Randall says no one disputes, is the foul coloring that Burr's enemies, of all parties, with Jefferson and Hamilton at their head, have heaped upon him.

If we are to take a man's character from his enemies, we shall place a very low estimate on Jefferson's or Hamilton's claims to truth, chastity, good faith, or common honesty. Jefferson was denounced by the whole Federal party as an atheist, a profligate, a rogue who had cheated his British creditors and devoured the portion of the widow and the orphan, a blasphemer, who said of a dilapidated church of Christ, that it was good enough for one who was born in a manger. He was regarded as crafty, base, and designing, destitute of every virtue, the enemy of law, order, and stable government.

Hamilton, according to Mr. Randall, was ambitious, licentious, unscrupulous, false; engaged in a conspiracy against the liberties of his country; involved in an intrigue with

England and a South American adventurer against the Spanish possessions; if not a fraudulent speculator himself, devoted to getting up financial projects which enabled others to be so; a cabaler with Adams' cabinet to obtain treacherous disclosures for an attack on Adams' character; a proposer of a political fraud to Jay, which Jay scorned to countenance; a promoter of standing armies, taxes, debt, for his own aggrandizement—to *exalt his station*. Mr. Randall quotes Mr. Madison as saying that Washington disliked Hamilton and Hamilton Washington. He declares that Hamilton was unpopular in his State, in his city, in his neighborhood; that the people detested him as he despised and hated the people; that his party disliked him for his domineering arrogance, and that nothing less than his death, which Mr. Randall, in his inflated and grotesque rhetoric, calls "a baptism of blood," could have restored him to their favor. They were willing to renew their devotion, then, only when he could no longer dictate and domineer.

Is there anything in the *general coloring* of Burr's character worse than this? If such be the reputation of Jefferson and Hamilton, when assailed by one party only, and defended and praised by the other, what are we to expect for Burr's, when pursued, alive and dead, by the hatred and vindictive slanders of both?—when maligned by all and defended by none? They abuse him universally, and then turn about and make the universal abuse the evidence of his guilt. The argument is short and easy: Burr, they say, is infamous—why? Because everybody says so. Everybody says so—why? Because Burr is infamous. The slander, by an easy process, is made to prove itself. "We always thought," "it is universally believed," "it is everywhere said," are the stereotyped answers to every attempt at doing justice to the dead. The little additions and helps to this standing argument are amusingly absurd. At three years old, Burr was a dirty, mischievous little fellow, by his mother's account. She little knew what harm she was doing him in saying so. Behold the coming man, exclaims one. But, to say nothing of the fact that most little boys are dirty and mischievous, the *man* was remarkable for scrupulous neatness. Ah! says the accuser, the dirty clothes foreshadowed the dirty morals. He was an *admirer* of Chesterfield's letters, adds another, and therefore should be excluded from the pale of society. But the *writer* of the letters was always in the foremost rank of fashion, influence, and office, in England. Talleyrand condemned him, says a third—Talleyrand who, from his birth, never had a scruple to overcome or a principle to violate, whose sole rule of action and test of right and wrong, were

his own interest or convenience—his opinion is appealed to in a question of moral merit when Burr is the party assailed. He *was not* an aid of General Washington, says another; he *was* an aid, but left his post at the end of six weeks, adds a fifth accuser. But is it really a very serious offence not to have been an aid of General Washington, or to have run away from the toils of the desk for the excitement of the field? Even Hamilton, who was an aid and remained one for four years, was always grumbling and seeking a pretext to abandon his place. Burr was a Cataline, a conspirator, a Bonaparte, designing to overturn the government, is the charge that his friend Hamilton made against him in that vague declamation which was always ready for every opponent. But where is the shadow of evidence? Where is the probability, the possibility? It is the character by which Hamilton is himself described—the purpose with which he is himself constantly associated. *He*, according to Mr. Randall, was the Cataline, the conspirator, the Bonaparte of the country. He it was who wanted nothing but opportunity, and was constantly seeking to make it.

We are accustomed to see Burr from the point of view which has been formed by the vindictive slanders of all parties. They see him what they have made him—the object of universal obloquy. Look at him from another—view him in the position in which he stood at the time of Hamilton's denunciations. He was elected Vice President of the United States by the Republican party. He was supported for the Presidency by the whole Federal delegation in Congress with one exception. He filled the chair of the Senate with high distinction; he presided at the trial of Chase, in a time of great party excitement, with unsurpassed judgment and impartiality; he delivered an address, at the end of his term, which all parties admitted was a model of senatorial grace, elegance, and dignity. During all this period he commanded respect. Are these things consistent with utter depravity? Was all this possible with any man as vile as he is represented to be?—so vile that no additional baseness could degrade him! Was Burr any worse than the class to which he belonged?—the class of politicians and hunters for office and power.

Such was his position when elected Vice President. What is there in his life since that time to produce the vindictive contumely of which he has been the victim? Apart from his loose morals, which existed before, which Hamilton shared, which success would have so gilded and concealed that they would have been forgotten, there is no subsequent event in Burr's life, bearing on his character injuriously, except his duel with Hamilton and his western adventure—a duel fairly

fought, for just provocation, where the wrong doer refused to apologize or explain, but answered the first request for one or the other, by an intimation that he was prepared for a challenge and expected one, and an ill-judged adventure, of which no one knows anything definitely, which could have resulted in harm to none but those engaged in it—these things, helped by the influence of the pulpit, the press, the partisans and party of Jefferson, on the one hand, and of Hamilton on the other, brought ruin to the fortunes and reputation of Aaron Burr. They were the pretexts, not the causes of party hatred.

Of the duel there can be but one opinion. No man, with a mind open to truth, can read the correspondence without admitting that Hamilton was shuffling and irresolute, unable to disavow the slander, unwilling to apologize to the slandered, ashamed to refuse a challenge, since he had twice before provoked one for less cause, yet anxious to evade it, estopped from condemning a practice which his whole life had sustained, but securing, by a sort of posthumous blow, the imputation on his antagonist, of shooting a man who never intended to return his fire, and, nevertheless, leaving it doubtful whether he did not return it. The whole transaction produces the impression only, that Hamilton's conduct was wrong and indecisive throughout. The results that followed the duel—the denunciation, the inquest, the presentments of grand juries, sermons eulogizing the man who, as the preachers knew, died in an act at variance with the laws of God and man—these things are discreditable to the character, not of Burr, but of those who engaged in them. Impartial lookers-on judged of the event very differently. A Southern gentleman of high character and intelligence, an old Federalist, who happened to be in New York at the time, was accustomed to say that, although all his sympathies were with Hamilton, he was obliged in justice to admit that Burr was right, and Hamilton wrong. The testimony is conclusive.

It is hardly possible to speak seriously of the terrible western project which frightened Mr. Jefferson from all sense of justice, of the obligations of law, and of the dignity of his high office. In an age like this, when the Union is torn to pieces every day by speeches in Congress, popular meetings, and legislative proceedings—when newspapers urge it, when parties are formed on it, when politicians advise it and make it a test of patriotism to seek it—is it not something ludicrous to charge a man with infamy, even if his purpose had been to do what we all talk and boast of being ready to do? But it was not his purpose. The idea is absurd. There was no feeling, in the popular mind, to act upon in that direction. But there was another feeling. The hostility of the western

people to Spain had been strong and increasing for years. It grew out of the attempt of Spain to debar them from the navigation of the Mississippi. It had been fanned by the encouragement of the American Government, as appears from a report of Jay, in Trescott's Diplomatic History. It was easily excited to action, and if Burr attempted to excite it, he was only attempting to do what has immortalized the heroes of San Jacinto, and sent Houston to the Senate of the United States. It is almost certain that Wilkinson favored the design. With his help, the plan was easy. It was in his power to bring about a collision between the Spanish and American troops on the frontier. The western people would have rushed into the conflict and the rest was not difficult. But Wilkinson preferred, to the uncertain success of a military adventure, the safe rewards of Mr. Jefferson, for destroying the man whom he once hoped to have made the ornament of his administration. He betrayed Burr. The proclamation, the military seizure, the trial of Burr, urged on by the impatient zeal of the Chief Magistrate, followed in succession. The prosecution was unsuccessful, in spite of all his efforts. One of the witnesses, betrayed into perjury before the court, went out and poisoned himself. The attempt of Jefferson to destroy his friend, Burr, failed, and he was obliged to content himself with pursuing him by other means than the hangman and the gallows.

Mr. Randall's narrative, at the close of the second volume, has not yet reached these patriotic exploits of the sage of Monticello. We are yet to learn what gloss he will put on the vindictive proceedings of Mr. Jefferson in relation to Burr, for which there is no intelligible reason, except the desire to ruin a man whom he detested the more cordially because he had formerly flattered him. The remembered condescension stimulated the hate.

In time's high court, to which we have alluded, we are all servitors, bound, in every case, to exercise an honest impartiality—to do justice and to love mercy. It is no faithful performance of this duty to rest contented with vague impressions, picked up at hap-hazard—least of all is it so, when there is something anomalous or extraordinary in the cause or character which we undertake to judge. Such was the case of Burr. He is held up as the object of universal obloquy by the popular outcry. Why is this? In what is he a worse man than his neighbors?—than the man to whom he was opposed all his life, and who is the subject of general eulogy? Is it in his morals? Hamilton has proclaimed to the world his own reputation for licentiousness, and that of the worst character. Is it for political intrigue? There are facts that,

establish the justice of Adams' declaration that Hamilton was the greatest intriguer in the United States. Is it that Burr cabaled in opposition to party ties and obligations? Hamilton was a cabaler against Adams with his cabinet, during his whole administration, and assailed him, with their help, at its close. Is it in projecting an attack on our Spanish neighbors? Hamilton was embarked in a secret plot for the same purpose, on a larger scale. Is Burr charged with conspiring against the Government? Hamilton is accused of hating and despising it, of desiring to introduce corrupting influences into it, of looking all his life for a favorable *crisis* to overturn it. Whose courage was of a higher type than Burr's? What man ever bore misfortune with manlier fortitude? Who has ever shown a more devoted affection to children and friends, or has possessed more expansively and actively the virtue that covers a multitude of sins? All very true, says one party, but his devotion to his daughter, who is sneeringly called the "divine Theodosia," and his affection for his grandson, were modifications only of his self-love. I admit, another remarks, that he had virtues and high qualities, but every bad man has high qualities and virtues. Drive out a popular prejudice with a pitchfork, it will pertinaciously return. It is not contended, let it be remarked, that Burr was a saint—a man of pure morals and irreproachable conduct; that is not the issue before the court—but we maintain that he was not worse than his fellow politicians; not worse than Hamilton, standing in his sheet, before the public, and confessing what he calls his "conjugal infidelities;" nor than Jefferson, charged with basely betraying his trust and assailing the virtue of women entrusted to his guardianship. The infamy heaped on Burr is therefore disproportionate and unjust, and has been produced, extended, and preserved, not by his evil deeds, but by the combined malignant hatred only of the two great parties. The sleuth hounds of Jefferson and Hamilton have been always on his track.

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#### ART. V.—THE ALBEMARLE AND CHESAPEAKE CANAL.

AMONG the other public works which are destined to assist in the great problem of Southern development, one of the most remarkable as well as important, is the one whose name stands at the head of this article. This work is important for the immense amount of its prospective accomplishment, and chiefly remarkable in the enormous difficulties which lie in the way of its execution.

An observer of the geography of North Carolina cannot avoid noticing the great mass of inland waters that lie stretched along the entire ocean front of the State. This line commences on one of the

upper arms or bays of Currituck sound, some ten miles north of the State line, and runs south through Currituck, Albemarle, Pamlico, Bogue, Core, and Stumpy sounds to the very southeastern county of the State. The whole of this extended line of waters is separated from the ocean by an attenuated strip of sandbank, varying from a quarter to a mile and a half in width, and penetrated only by a few inlets, which alone separate the pent up waters of these sounds from that of the ocean. Many interesting theories have been started as to the cause of this extraordinary formation, which, however, we leave to those who have made themselves better acquainted with the mysteries of the subject.

The portion of these waters to which this article has more immediate reference, embraces the Currituck, Albemarle, and Pamlico sounds, which collectively extend as far south as Newbern, and with the Trent, Neuse, Tar, Roanoke, and Chowan rivers, which flow into them, form an aggregate of water line nearly eighteen hundred miles in length, and drain the lands of twenty-six of the most fertile and productive counties of North Carolina. These counties lie principally in the eastern portion of the State, and embrace the district visited by the fleet of Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1584, and whose beauty and fertility is so glowingly described by the great and gallant pioneer of American colonization.

The territory embraces some 10,000,000 acres of land, or an area equal to double the States of Massachusetts and Rhode Island combined, the major part of which is of almost unparalleled fertility; and when its agricultural capacities are fully developed, by improved cultivation and drainage, must be a region of immense production. Hundreds of acres, in a single body, have, for decade after decade, produced from fifty to seventy-five bushels of corn to the acre annually, and are almost equally productive in wheat and other cereals. The various lakes and small ponds which are interspersed over the district need only to be drawn off, in the plan of contemplated drainage, to make excellent rice fields. Cotton grows well in every part of the district. Potatoes have an early growth and abundant yield, and a great part of the less fertile soil is finely adapted to the raising of early vegetables for Northern markets, a branch of trade which is already of great, and is of growing importance. The various fruits of temperate, as well as the warmer climates, succeed well, especially the latter. The grape culture is destined to be a matter of much value, two or three kinds, of large size, being indigenous to the soil, and growing wild, with a luxuriousness and abundant yield far exceeding that of the most favored vine-growing districts of Europe. Some of these vines cover an acre of ground, drawing their sustenance from a single root, and have, for a century, produced their annual yield of from fifty to a hundred bushels. This is, indeed, one of the few countries where "every man" may literally "sit under his own vine and fig tree." Considerable wine, and that of excellent quality, is now made from these natural vineyards, and there is every reason to suppose that the seat of the wine manufacture of the United States will, eventually, be found in eastern North Carolina. A large portion of

this district is covered with a heavy growth of valuable timber, which has remained uncleared, partly because the difficulty and expense of getting produce to market has greatly retarded agricultural enterprise, but chiefly because, from the same causes, this timber could not be got to market, except at a cost that nearly absorbed its value. With a mode of navigation which will give this timber the cheap transportation enjoyed by the country bordering upon the navigable waters of Virginia, its local value will be increased five-fold, and it will alone furnish an immense trade, and be a source of magnificent income to its owners.

But these advantages have hitherto been in a great measure withheld from this otherwise favored country. The only outlets of its trade, until now, have been the Dismal Swamp canal, connecting the Elizabeth with the Pasquaunuck river; the latter a narrow, tortuous stream, inadequate to the extended commerce such an outlet ought to command. The other is Ocracoke inlet, some of the disabilities of which are of an equal, and others of a worse character. This inlet is eighty miles south of the centre of Albemarle sound, so that vessels going north have to make a double of one hundred and sixty miles to get back upon the same parallel on which they started. Another great difficulty lies in the shallowness of the water on Ocracoke bar, which allows a draft of only six feet of water, and obliges vessels of any size to lighter three-fourths of their cargo over the bar, at an average expense, including detention, of over one dollar per ton; a sum which forms an aggregate tax of nearly half a million upon the products of this portion of the State.

The worst feature, however, of the route by Ocracoke, lies in its exceeding danger. From the inlet to the capes of Virginia, including the rounding of Cape Hatteras, stretches the attenuated strip of sand-bank before mentioned, without a single opening into which a vessel may escape in time of danger. The whole of this wreck-strewn coast is one vast maritime graveyard. There is scarcely a hundred yards of the fearful strand that may not boast its own wreck; and the only conspicuous objects which meet the eye of the mariner, while coasting along the dismal shore, are the bleaching ribs or half-buried hulks of former vessels, whose mute but impressive eloquence tell the fearful story of shipwreck, suffering, and death. Many of these sad mementoes have been "buried out of our sight" by the shifting sands, or have mouldered in decay, but the coast is never without abundant evidence to its dread character, for scarcely a storm rages upon the Atlantic that does not give its quota of fresh victims to this murderous beach. Sir Walter Raleigh must have discovered its dangers in his early visits, for we find a sketch which accompanies his account of his first voyages to this region which represents wrecks along the entire route from Cape Hatteras to the capes of Virginia. The loss of life in the centuries that have since intervened must have been terrible, and of property, almost incalculable.

It must not be supposed that the people or government of North Carolina were ignorant of these disabilities, or unmindful of the great advantages of a safer and less expensive route. As early as 1830 a

committee was appointed to inquire into the practicability and importance of reopening Roanoke inlet, which lies nearly opposite the foot of Albemarle sound. The report of that committee is an interesting document, and fully corroborates all that is said above of the dangers to be avoided, and estimates the *annual* saving to the counties drained by the Albemarle at \$355,000, even at that early period, although a part only of the dangers and expense would be avoided by reopening the inlet at Roanoke. At the instigation of North Carolina the United States Government undertook the work in 1854, but were, last year, forced to abandon it, after years of labor and an immense expenditure, owing to the refilling of the trench, by sand, almost as fast as the machines employed in the work progressed; and after the work was abandoned the machine was forced to an almost equal amount of work in cutting its way back to its original position.

It was then to afford the country, we have under review, the advantages of a cheap and speedy outlet to its trade, as well as to avoid the terrible sacrifice of life and property, which we have endeavored to describe, that the Albemarle and Chesapeake canal was projected. The idea was not entirely novel, surveys having been made in 1807, under the direction of the Hon. Albert Gallatin. Surveys were also made by T. L. Patterson, Esq., by direction of the Norfolk city councils, in 1851. But it was left to the genius, energy, and untiring perseverance of MARSHALL PARKS to inaugurate this work, which will be of as essential service to the eastern portion of North Carolina, as the great Erie canal is to the central portion of New York. Mr. Parks had long been an efficient advocate of the line, and finding nothing likely to accrue from the action of the city of Norfolk, taxed the work upon his own unaided efforts. He first obtained favorable charters from the Legislatures of North Carolina and Virginia, but was forced to go through several years of seemingly fruitless and most discouraging labor before he could get the stock of his company taken up. He finally succeeded in 1854, and the company was organized, Mr. Parks being elected president, A. M. Bart, secretary, and Jno. Lathrop, chief engineer. It is worthy of remark that, for some years previous to its completion, Marshall Parks, Sr., father to the gentleman above named, was the president and ruling spirit of the Dismal Swamp canal. So to father and son, of the same name, the State of North Carolina will be indebted for the two great artificial outlets of her trade. Marshall Parks, Sr., died in 1840, leaving many projected improvements upon his canal uncompleted, the neglect of which has made the necessity of the new canal so imperative.

The new canal is divided into two sections, one of eight and a half miles, connecting Elizabeth river (the head of Norfolk harbor) with deep water on Currituck sound, and the other of five and a half miles, connecting that sound with the sounds of Albemarle and Pamlico. Thus, by two short canals, with an aggregate length of only *fourteen miles*, joined to a natural river navigation of some fifty miles, a perfect water connection for large vessels is formed between Hampton Roads, through Norfolk and Portsmouth harbors, and the whole vast extent of the inland waters of North Carolina. The opening of this canal

It will inaugurate a new era in the commerce of the old North State. Its productions of all kinds will enjoy a perfectly safe and very rapid transit to market, at rates full thirty, and on some articles full fifty per cent. on the transit charges to which they are now subjected. The canal, through its entire length, will have a width of eighty, and a minimum depth of seven and a half feet, with only one lock of a few feet lift, forty feet wide, and two hundred and twenty feet long. Thus, a side-wheel steamboat of two hundred and fifty tons, and barges of from three to five hundred tons, can pass; and timber in rafts can be towed through its waters. It is claimed that there will be a saving of three and a half cents a bushel on grain, and a greater proportion of saving on other productions, besides a difference in insurance of one and three-fourths of a cent. for goods under, and six per cent. on those above deck, by way of Ocracoke. If we apply these combined savings to the present trade of the territory, we have an aggregate saving of more than half a million of dollars, which would be five per cent. on ten millions. As this saving would be so much gained to the owners of the soil, we may add that much to the value of the ten million acres of land, or one dollar per acre, even, provided there was no increase to the trade of this portion of the State. If, however, this trade be doubled, the gain would be twenty millions; if trebled, thirty millions, or quadrupled, as no one can doubt it will be. The simple saving in transit charges would be five per cent., or an addition of four dollars to each of these ten millions of acres, or forty millions of dollars in the aggregate. There is another view which presents the prospective advantages of this canal in a still stronger light. There is at least one quarter of the land of the territory named which is now covered with a heavy growth of timber. At present this has to be cut down and burned. The cost of clearing each acre of this land may be put down at twenty dollars. But with the advantages of the new canal, this timber will be available for masts, planks, staves, shingles, firewood, and other purposes, at a rate which would at least equal the cost of clearing, so that the actual gains to each acre of land prepared for agricultural purposes will be twenty dollars. If two million acres only of the ten be thus cleared, the saving on this item would be \$40,000,000, besides the annual saving in carriage of agricultural products. In this connection we will remind the reader that this canal will give all the land bordering on the eighteen hundred miles of interior navigation before described a transportation far superior to that enjoyed by the strip of land twenty-five miles wide on each side of the Erie canal, in New York, the enhancement of the value of which has amounted to over \$470,000,000 since that great work was projected. When the Albemarle and Chesapeake canal is completed, there will be a daily steamboat connection between every accessible point of eastern North Carolina and Norfolk, by which any kind of production can start as far south as Newbern, and reach Norfolk in twenty hours; or, if desired, may reach New York twenty-four hours later, a fact of great significance in view of the vegetable trade before mentioned. It is only by taking this comprehensive view of these advantages that we

are enabled to realize the wonderful transformation which is to be wrought by this fourteen miles of canal navigation.

But short as the canal is, the difficulties that lie in the way of its construction are of the most formidable character; and its accomplishment may be classed with those monster feats of European engineering—George Stephenson's railway over Chat Mass; the crossing of the Aycliff Bog; the famous Blissworth cutting on the London and Birmingham railway; the cutting through the Whinston dyke of the Wynchburg hill; the sea-wall of Paenmaen Muer; or Stephenson's celebrated railway foundation across the quicksands from Poulton to Humphrey's Head. The route of Mr. Parks' canal lay through a heavily wooded swamp, with water over the surface. Many of the standing trees were cypress and juniper, of immense size, with large roots running fifteen or twenty feet deep. The remainder of the material to be excavated may be almost said to be one mass of stumps, roots, and the trunks of fallen trees; many of the latter probably lying in their beds for ages, preserved by the anti-septic qualities of the water. Some of these buried stumps and trees—especially the older ones, for the trees "were giants in those days"—measure from three to ten feet in diameter; and a part of one of these former monsters of the forest was, last year, brought to the surface, which actually measured sixteen feet, and over eight feet through its smallest diameter. When it is considered that, after the timber was cut off the track, the stumps were so thick that one could walk for hundreds of yards by stepping from stump to stump in a continued line; that some of them had large tap roots running a score of feet below the surface; and that entire trunks of such fallen trees as those above described lay stretched across the prism of the canal, or stretched their huge carcasses for a hundred feet along its line, covered, perhaps, with six or eight feet of water, and other material, a faint idea may be formed of the perfectly herculean nature of the undertaking. Of course the only possible method of cutting the canal trench through this fearful conglomeration of difficulties, was by the use of steam excavators of a peculiar construction, placed upon massive scows, which float in the trench the machine makes for itself. Several of these machines were placed upon the work. They worked without difficulty until they struck the edge of the swamp, where they encountered the formidable mass of apparent and hidden obstructions above alluded to. One of the machines encountered two old stumps in a line across the canal soon after the work commenced, upon which it was worked for upwards of three weeks, with every expedient of the managers, before they could be gotten out of the way, and during which the engine had not progressed ten feet. Although these machines were the most powerful known, they each proved too feeble for their tasks, and the contractors have been obliged to displace them by others of double and even treble power. The use of powder has been introduced in blowing the stumps and tree trunks above and below water, as well as various expedients for sawing, cutting up, and removing the larger trees, stumps, and roots which lie below the surface.

## ART. VI.—EARLY HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE IN VIRGINIA.

## No. III.

**TOBACCO.**—Mr. Jefferson, in speaking of tobacco, maize, potatoes, and certain other vegetables, as having been found in Virginia when first visited by the English, adds: "But it is not said whether of spontaneous growth or by cultivation only. Most probably they were natives of more southern climates, and handed along the continent from one nation to another of the savages."—Notes on Virginia, 39. However this may have been, it is well known that the plant first mentioned early attracted the attention of the settlers, and became in no long time the principal subject of culture. Not so early, indeed, as the government of Smith, who sought to engage them in far other labors. "None of it," says he, "was planted at first," and "as for tobacco, we never thought of that."—II. 258, Hist. Reg. I. 55. "It was in the time of Sir Thomas Dale, (1610–1616,) that its cultivation began to creep in and to obstruct their crops of corn, whence he made a law that no tobacco should be set till such a proportion of corn-ground for the master and each servant had been first prepared and planted. And this was the first beginning and essay towards making tobacco here, which hath ever since continued the staple commodity of our country."—Smith, 140. The consumption in Europe, of that obtained from the Spanish provinces, was already considerable and annually increasing. It soon appeared to the Virginians, also, that this was for them the most ready and certain source of income, and hence their pursuit of it to the partial neglect of the necessary means of subsistence.

This excess is the great burden of complaint with our early historians, who also refer to the steps taken by the public authorities to lessen the evil. Were this the proper place, it would not be difficult to show that the planters themselves were less culpable herein than certain other parties. The wretched colonial policy of the mother country, and the measures of the Company in England, and of the colonial authorities afterwards, which sought to force industry into particular channels, and to obstruct its natural flow in others, and to regulate the price of its fruits instead of leaving them to the natural laws of supply and demand, drove the planters, against their inclination, to this as the principal and almost exclusive source of revenue.\* Hence the excess complained of. Apart from the question of morals connected with this subject, it is also a fallacy to suppose that the culture of tobacco, especially in a new country, is incompatible with good husbandry. If kept within proper limits, it is in such a country an admirable pioneer of an improved system, and but for the oppressive policy and absurd regulations referred to, it would the sooner have found those limits.

The planters of Virginia had to compete with those of the West Indies in this staple before they had become proficient in its manage-

\* Smith, II. 27, 103; Stith, 200; Henning, I. 134; Hist. Reg. II. 66, 71.

ment. Their profits were still farther reduced by a duty laid on its consumption in England for the benefit of the King's revenue, who yet, while intent on the Spanish match for his son, persisted in allowing the importation of the Spanish tobacco to the depression of that raised in the English colony. Hence we read that "*Mr. Edward Bennet*, a citizen of London, was presented with the freedom of the Company, because he had written a treatise, setting forth, in a clear and lively manner, the great inconvenience and damage to the nation from this cause."—Stith, 199.

The Spaniards made their first settlement in the West Indies in 1493, the year after their discovery, and yet, as tobacco was not introduced into *England* until near a century afterwards, (1585,) it may be presumed that the former, in this interval, by improving on the modes of culture and management observed among the natives, had brought this staple to a considerable degree of perfection. A knowledge of their method would naturally be sought by the English, who would impart it to the colonists in Virginia for their imitation. John Rolfe, in 1616, enumerating the products in Virginia, says: "Tobacco, though an esteemed weed, is very commodious, which there thriveth so well, that no doubt, but after a *little more trial and expense in the curing thereof*, it will compare with the best in the West Indies."—Hist. Register, I. 105. And this appears to have been a kind then much in request, though not thought the best by Spaniards themselves, and known as "*Verinas*," grown in Cuba.—Stith, 249. We may presume that the method pursued in Virginia was detailed in the reports made to the Company in England, or in some of the pamphlets of the day concerning Virginia. In those which we have seen, we find but slight notices concerning the culture and preparation of this plant until the mode had, perhaps, been established by experience and custom. Something, however, illustrative of this matter, may be gleaned from the early laws and histories, and we have an outline of the mode as practised at different times, and as observed by travellers and others who have been among us. Such sketches may be found in the journals of Glover, (in Sir Wm. Berkley's time;) of Clayton, in 1688; of Hugh Jones, 1724; of Smyth, in 1773; of St. Aubury, in 1779.\*

"How the *Indians* ordered their tobacco," says Beverley, "I am not certain, that they now depending chiefly upon the English for what they smoke; but I am informed they used to let it all run to seed, only succoring the leaves to keep the sprouts from growing upon, and starving them; and when it was ripe they pulled off the leaves, cured them in the sun, and laid them up for use. But the

\* More elaborate essays, giving fuller details, were published by Harris, in his Collection of Voyages, (II. 229, 231, Folio Edition, in 1764,) by Jonathan Carver in 1779, and by "Capt. Buckner Stith, of Brunswick county, Virginia." The second we have never seen, but the substance of it is probably given by Loudon. (Enc. Ag. 6136.) The last was composed early in the last century, and reprinted in Richmond sometime between 1820 and 1824. The writer of this report saw it some years ago, but regrets that he could not procure a copy for present examination, as it might have furnished matter of curious comparison, with present practices.

planters make a heavy bustle with it now, and can't please the market neither."—Page 116.

The earliest notice of this kind which has come to our knowledge is given by Stith, the historian, under date of 1617, as follows: "This year one *Mr. Lambert* made a great discovery in the trade of planting. For the method of *curing tobacco then was in heaps*. But this gentleman found out that *it cured better upon lines*; and therefore the Governor wrote to the Company to send over lines for that purpose."

—147. In Glover's time the lines had fallen into disuse, and "they drive into the stalk of each plant *a peg*, and as fast as they are pegged they hang them upon *tobacco sticks*, so nigh each other that they just touch, much after the manner they hang herrings in Yarmouth." When the pegs were superseded by *partially splitting the stalk* before "hanging" does not appear, though it may be implied in the statement of Jones, who says, "it is hung to dry on sticks, as paper at the paper mills." However simple this expedient, it was an improvement that saved time and labor, and hastened the curing of the stalk. A proclamation of 1628 directs that "great care should be taken not to *burn* it in the sweating."—Henning, I. 130. But it is noticeable that neither Glover, Clayton, Beverley, nor Jones or Harris allude to the use of fire in this process, but refer it all to the action of *the sun and air*.\*

By limiting the quantity raised, the authorities hoped not only to direct the attention of planters to the growth of other commodities, but to the improvement of the quality of this, which had become not only their principle staple, but was used as the very currency of the country. Thus, in 1621, it was ordered, "that for every head they should plant but 1,000 plants of tobacco, and upon each plant 9 leaves, which will be about 100 lbs. weight."—Smith, II. 59; Stith, 195, 205. This restriction must have been badly observed; for in 1628 it was permitted to take 12 leaves "instead of 25 or 30, as heretofore; and 1629, to raise 3,000 plants per poll, and 1,000 each for women and children. The next year this was reduced to 2,000, and in 1631, "no seconds were to be tended."

Still the supply exceeds the demand, and in 1632 the above figure was further reduced to 1,500. They had become less arbitrary and more reasonable in Glover's day. "When the plant," says he, "hath put out so many leaves as the ground will nourish to a substance and largeness that will render them merchantable, *then* they take off the top of the plant. If the ground be very rich they let a plant put out a dozen or sixteen leaves before they top it; if mean then not above nine or ten, and so according to the strength of their soil."—Henning, I. 135, 142, 152, 162, 164. In Jones' time the stalk matured but six or eight leaves.—Page 40. In 1640 it was ordered that all which on inspection proved bad, and *one-half the good* [instead of being converted into manure] *should be burnt!* And in 1666, when

\* "Their tobacco houses are all built of wood, as *open and airy* as is consistent with keeping out the rain [and covered with thin clap-board]; which sort of building is *most convenient for the curing* of their tobacco."—Beverley, 236.

all markets were glutted,\* it was determined that, for one year, planting should be wholly suspended.—Hening, I. 225; II. 224. At length the evil of over-production was left to cure itself.

At what distance apart the plants were set at first, is not said. In 1628 it was fixed at four and a half feet; in Glover's time reduced to four feet; and in Smyth's to three, as at present.—Hening, I. 135; Hist. Reg. VI. 81. Smyth adds that "the produce of an acre in the culture of tobacco, in the best land, is about 1,660 lbs.; on the worst, about 500 lbs."—Ib. 132. Here was some improvement in results, for, if we compute aright, the last figure must have exceeded the average product in the beginning. Though Beverley tells us, that in his day a dozen hands would produce 16,000 lbs. of "sweet-scented," and sometimes more.—Page 212.

Further orders were, that none should be planted after the 10th of July; that when cured it should be struck down before the last of November, prized in well seasoned hogsheads, and brought to the "store houses" before the last of December.—Hening, I. 165, 204; II. 119. In these particulars the present mode is different, is more compatible with a mixed system of farming and planting, more favorable to the general improvement of the soil, and furnishes more constant employment to the laborers throughout the winter season.

The hogsheads, as first described, contained about 350 lbs., and were enlarged successively to the capacity of 500, 800, 1,100 lbs.; which last standard it rarely exceeded during the colonial era.

Tobacco, so early as 1629, was required to be inspected where grown by "the commander of the plantation" and two or three discreet men of the neighborhood. This continued with some modification until 1633, when "store houses" were established at several convenient points, to which all tobacco intended for export was to be brought and examined before packing; the inspectors being the nearest member of the council assisted by the commissioners of the plantations.—Hening, I. 126, 152, 165, 190, 204.

"Warehouses," regulated substantially in the present mode, date from the time of Spotswood.—H. Jones, 55, 56. While tobacco was largely grown on our principal rivers below tide, and the market was wholly abroad, it was thought a hardship on such planters as could lade a vessel from their own shores, to compel them first to carry their crops to a distant warehouse to be inspected; and these clamors, after a few years, induced a repeal of the law. But its benefits had outweighed the inconvenience, and in time it was re-enacted; and, as the culture of this plant spread westward, the planters acquiesced in an arrangement which improved the quality of their staple and prevented numerous frauds.

A law of 1633 directs the planters "to sow those kinds of tobacco which are of the long sorts, and all other sorts the next year shall be quite left off and given over."—Hening, I. 205. What these "long

\* Tobacco which, in the beginning, had sold as high as 3s per pound, and occasionally higher, before 1648 had fallen to 3d, and afterwards, in some years, still lower.

sorts" were, we are not told. But from Clayton we learn that "these are not only the two distinct sorts of *sweet-scented* and *Aranoko*, but of each of these there be several sorts much different, the seeds whereof are known by distinct names, they having given the names of those gentlemen most famed for such sort of tobacco, as *Pryor* seed, &c. Nay, the same sort of seed, in different earths, will produce tobacco much different as to goodness. The *richer* the ground the better it is for *Aranoko* tobacco, whose scent is not much minded, their only aim being to have it spacious, large, and to procure it of a bright color."—*Far. Reg.*, IV. 643.

This statement is confirmed by Jones, who also gives a notable instance of the effect produced by difference of soil. "There are two sorts of tobacco, viz: *Oroonoko*, the stronger, and sweet-scented, the milder; the first with a sharper leaf, like a fox's ear, and the other rounder and with finer fibres; but each of these is varied into several sorts, much as apples and pears are, and I have been informed by the Indian traders that the inland Indians have sorts of tobacco much differing from any planted or used by the Europeans." "The land in the latitude between the James and York rivers seems most nicely adapted for sweet-scented, or the finest tobacco. For 'tis observed that the goodness decreaseth the farther you go northward of the one, and the southward of the other. But this may be (I believe) attributed in some measure to the seed and management, as well as to the land and latitude; for on York river, in a small tract of land called *Digges' Neck*, [from Edward Digges who was Governor in 1655,] which is poorer than a great deal of other land in the same latitude, by a particular seed and management, is made the famous crop known by the name of *E. Dees*, remarkable for its mild taste and fine smell."—*Jones*, 39, 34.\*

General Washington also recognizes the same two great classes, and the high reputation of the tobacco grown on those rivers; speaks of his own careful experiments to test the value of different kinds, and of the difficult art of curing it, so as to meet the taste or caprice of purchasers, and to equalize the profits of planters.—*Writings*, XII. 253, 257, 258, 260. But these names have, in some measure, lost their significance. The *Oroonoko* is no longer confined to the richest soil, nor is it thought to be less sweet-scented than its rivals. Some years since, the fresh, sandy, high lands of Fluvanna—not more fertile than many others—produced it in high perfection, and, being a favorite with the manufacturers, the growers reaped unusual profits. Other and more limited localities which seem specially adapted to particular varieties of tobacco, are known to many planters in our own day. The "*Pryor*" tobacco is still cultivated largely on the south side of James river; and some will be surprised to learn that it had been known by that name for nearly two centuries.

Clayton, who saw *the importance of having an early set of plants in the hills*, hastened their growth in the beds by *steeping the seed in*

\* The account of Harris is to the same effect, both as regards the kinds and the excellence of the sweet-scented which grew on York river.—*Voyages*, II. 231.

an infusion of stable manure to which soot had been added. He also mixed the seed with ashes, that they might be more equally distributed in the sowing. The first practice is still known to many planters, and the last is universal.—Farmers' Register, IV. 644.

There can be no doubt that the establishment of *manufactories* of tobacco in Virginia has been beneficial to the planter as well as to those who are immediately engaged in preparing the article for consumption. The home market for this staple has risen from small beginning, until now it absorbs the major part of what is grown here. Purchasers being more numerous competition is increased, and the planter in turn is led to bestow greater attention on the selection, culture, and after-management of his crops; being stimulated by the hope of higher prices for such as can be more readily made to suit the taste of the consumer. The first establishment of this kind of which we find any mention, was that of a Major Woodford, on the Rappahannock, and described by Col. Byrd, in his "Progress to the Mines," in 1732.—Westover Manuscripts, 140. Another, if on a smaller scale, of no little note in its day, was set up by Col. Cabaniss, of Mecklenburg, about or before 1769. Mr. Custis, of Arlington, who has recorded the fact, professes to have divulged the before secret mode of management which gave its extraordinary popularity to "the weed," as it came from this first tobacco factory on the south side of James river, where now they are so numerous.—Southern Planter, IV. 165.

GRASS.—"Virginia," says Smith, "affordeth many excellent vegetables and living creatures yet *grass* there is little or none, but what groweth in low marshes, for all the country is overgrown with trees, whose droppings continually turneth their grass to weeds, by reason of the rankness of the ground, which would soon be amended by good husbandry."—I. 121. Such was probably the natural condition of the country below tide, the only part he had explored. We may suppose that, even then, above the falls and near the foot of the mountains, there were prairies, savannahs, and other spots either bare of trees or with few underwoods, where the natural grasses grow in great luxuriance. Such spots were afterwards found by the settlers in their advance, who availed themselves of the advantage they afforded in rearing cattle and other stock.\* Most of these grasses were annual, and having been trampled by stock and cropped too early in spring, before they had time to form their flowers or to shed their seeds, were gradually extirpated. In 1629 Smith writes: "Jamestown is yet their chief seat, most of the wood destroyed, little corn there planted, but all converted into pasture and gardens, wherein doth grow all manner of herbs and roots we have in England in abundance, and as good grass as can be. Here most of their cattle do feed, their owners being most some one way, some another, about their plantations, and return again when they please, or any shipping comes in to trade. Here in winter

\* A remarkable body of land of this character, lying on Irving River and Sable Creek, was observed by Col. Byrd while tracing our southern boundary.—Westover Manuscripts, 75. Other notable instances were the valleys of the Little Roanoke and Staunton rivers, in the county of Charlotte, when explored in 1740-2.—Southern Planter, XII. 319. According to Beverley such tracts were once quite numerous.—History of Virginia, 97.

they have *hay* for their cattle, but in other places they browse upon wood."—II. 258.

We here behold the first example of planters residing in a village, their plantations being in the vicinity and not too distant for their personal superintendence or direction. The hay here spoken of was probably cut from the adjacent marshes and the grasses indigenous, though there is nothing to forbid the supposition that experiments may have been tried thus early with seeds imported from England. We now know that in Eastern Virginia greensward is the spontaneous growth of all open lands not subjected to tillage and of a certain degree of fertility—as yards, lawns, and fence-corners; while white clover is that of fresh fields or lots in their rotation, and bird-clover in those of a lesser grade; crab-grass, foxtail, &c., spring in our corn-fields when the crop is "laid by," and blue-grass in those of the Valley. Various other grasses, serving for pasture, are indigenous in Virginia. But since the date of our former report we have found reason to believe that one of our principal meadow-grasses, timothy, is also a native of this State; and that red clover, sanfoin, and others for hay or soiling, were known here more than one hundred and twenty years since. A few passages from certain old books will be cited in evidence.

"In the afternoon," says Col. Byrd in 1732, "we walked in a meadow [the property of Gov. Spotswood] by the river side—which winds in the form of a horse-shoe about Germanna, making it a peninsula—containing about four hundred acres."—Westover Manuscripts, 134, November 10, 1715. Col. John Fontaine, being at Mr. Austin Moor's, in King William County, "went to see his improvements in the marsh, on the Pamunkey, where, by *draining*, he hath very good hay."—Memoirs of a Huguenot, 263; also 271–2.

The same gentleman, writing from Wales to a relative in Virginia, January 2, 1764, says: "I received the *timothy* grass you were so kind as to send me. I sowed some in my garden and it grew well," &c.—Ib. 443. From an English compilation entitled "The Complete Farmer," 3d edition, 1777, we gather this, in corroboration: "Timothy grass, the name of a grass now cultivated in England, of which it is also a native, though the seeds of it were carried from Virginia, by one Mr. Timothy Hanson, to North Carolina, where it is now cultivated by the inhabitants; and from this circumstance it received the name it now bears." This plant is farther described as "a species of foxtail," and is, therefore, not the same with the herdsgrass or red-top, with which it has been confounded in New England, and interchanged names.—See American Farmer, I. 390, H. 39, 68, 85.

Again: "Indian corn is the best food for cattle, sheep, hogs, and horses, and the blades and tops are excellent fodder, when well cured, which is commonly used, though many raise good clover and oats, and some have planted sanfoin, &c." In another place—"I have had two tons off an acre of clover, which we may mow twice."—Hugh Jones, 40, 140. "The woods are fired in the spring, to burn the old leaves and grass, that there may be the better pasture." "Up the rivers and creeks are vast, large marshes, which being drained and secured with mud-walls, would employ abundance of people and might be convert-

ed into as good meadows and as large, as those upon the Thames about and below London. Such meadows are much wanting there, and would well recompense the cost and trouble of the undertakers of such noble projects; besides, this would confine the rivers to their proper channels; whereas now they cover, for miles from each shore, large quantities of flat and shoaly ground, useless and inconvenient. However impracticable or difficult this task may appear to some, yet I doubt not but in process of time this may be effected."—Ib. 133, and Beverley, page 262. Whether the benefits anticipated from this source were realized will hereafter appear. This was published in 1724; in 1781 Mr. Jefferson says, that "Our grasses are lucerne, sanfoin, burnet, timothy, ray and orchard grass; red, white, and yellow clover; greensward, blue-grass, and crab-grass."—Notes on Virginia, 40. The first six of these, timothy excepted, which was the principal meadow-grass, and lucerne, which, as it might be cut more than once in the year, was raised in patches for the purposes of soiling, were probably sown by but few persons, and to a limited extent by any.

## AGRICULTURE.

### WINE-MAKING IN MISSOURI.

Among the receipts in our city by the Pacific Railroad, a few days ago, were eight thousand gallons of Catawba wine, from Hermann. This wine has been bought by N. Longworth, of Cincinnati, to be manufactured into Sparkling Catawba, and was on its way to that city. The price paid for this wine at Hermann was \$1 25 per gallon, and the shipment was therefore worth ten thousand dollars.

The annual grape yield in Missouri has been found liable to great fluctuations. One grower in Hermann, (M. Poeschel,) found the product one year from his vineyard to be eleven hundred gallons; the year following it was only one hundred gallons. That isolated fact would look discouraging, but it is found that so remarkable a falling off only occurred one year in ten, and that the average yield of wine to the acre of grapes, preserves as great regularity through a series of years as is shown by any other crop in this climate and latitude.

It may be calculated to startle those tillers of the soil who know nothing of grape culture in the West, to learn that M. Poeschel's vineyard, at Hermann, Missouri, has yielded during the past ten years an average of four hundred and twenty-five gallons of wine per acre per year, and that this wine has been sold at from one to two dollars per gallon. It requires but brief figuring to ascertain that M. Poeschel has realized over five hundred dollars per acre per annum from his grape culture. Wm. Poeschel, a brother of the above, cultivating a smaller vineyard, had even a greater yield. The latter received annually one hundred and fifty dollar's worth of wine from two hundred and fifty vines, planted six by eight feet apart; and his average yield per annum per acre was four hundred and eighty-seven gallons, or over six hundred dollars per acre. If we take the annual crop of wheat, corn, oats or tobacco, grown in Missouri, it will be found that at least once in ten years there will happen as near a total failure as has happened with the grape crop; so that by the actual showing of experience, nothing can be deduced to the prejudice of grape-growing, as compared with other crops, for certainty of yield; while as to profitableness, and the lessened labor and increased pleasantness arising from the small compass of oversight required, the odds are incalculably in favor of grape-growing.

There has never failed to be ready sale for all the wine produced in Missouri.

In former years it was sold mainly to Cincinnati manufacturers, but in 1853 three of the most enterprising citizens of St. Louis, Wm. Glasgow, Jr., A. Vallee, and A. H. Glasby, formed a partnership for the manufacture of wines in St. Louis. After one year of operation a charter was obtained, and the enterprise was merged in the "Missouri Wine Company." About twenty stockholders form this Company, and under the intelligent management of Mr. Glasgow, as President, the Company has gone on to establish a reputation for Missouri wines inferior to none in the United States; and with many of the best judges the Missouri wine stands at the head.—*St. Louis News*.

### DECLINING PRODUCTION OF BREADSTUFFS.

BUT few people are aware of the immense falling off in the staple agricultural products of the older States, as exhibited by the census reports. New England, for instance, in 1840, raised over 2,000,000 bushels of wheat, but in 1850 she yielded but 1,000,000—a decline of 50 per cent. in ten years. The population, in the meantime, had considerably increased. There has been a considerable decline, undoubtedly, since 1850. The four States of Tennessee, Kentucky, Georgia, and Alabama, which raised 12,000,000 bushels of wheat in 1840, raised but 5,000,000 bushels in 1850. The number of sheep in the State of New York had decreased so that there were nearly 300,000 less than there were thirty years ago. Within a period of five years the decrease has been nearly fifty per cent., while the decrease in the number of horses, cows, and swine is above 15 per cent. In 1845 the product of wheat was 13,391,770 bushels. It has steadily declined since, and the product of the past year did not exceed 6,000,000 bushels.

The older sections of our country are becoming more and more dependent upon the granary of the Northwest for their supplies of leading agricultural products. Their land is getting worn out and unproductive, and the people are turning their attention to manufactures and commerce. In time, scientific agriculture, directed by the resource of wealth, will reclaim, in almost all of its old fertility, those districts; but for the present they must look elsewhere, in a measure, for the great supplies of the staff of life. The opening of new Territories, soon to become States, in the West, is the greatest of blessings to the old Atlantic States, not only as relieving them of considerable population they can well spare, but as assisting to keep down the price of agricultural products to a reasonable figure.

### NATIVE WINES.

A COMMITTEE of the British Parliament has advocated, in a report, the reduction of duties on foreign wines, as a means of ameliorating the inroads of intemperance, and they point to America as the source from whence an abundant future supply may be obtained. It will surprise Americans, who know so little of the progress of the wine business in this country, to know that the Sparkling Catawba is already a favorite wine on the tables of the aristocracy of Europe, and has attained such celebrity, that in the best wine regions the Catawba has been introduced into the vineyard. Cozzens' Wine Press asserts, that the value of the home production of wine already exceeds that of the consumption of foreign wines as two to one. We think this must be a larger estimate, unless Mr. Cozzens includes that branch of the manufacture in which the juice of the grape is not essential. That sort of American wine doubtless exceeds all that is expressed from American grapes, or imported from abroad.

We can believe, however, that the production of genuine native wine is much greater than is generally supposed. It is stated that the wine made at El Paso, New Mexico, is equal to one-fifth of all the wines imported into the United States. A single house in Los Angeles, California, put up last year one hundred and thirty thousand bottles of sparkling native wine, and an acre of

vineyard in that vicinity is said to produce one thousand gallons of wine per year. The whole amount made at Los Angeles last year is estimated at three hundred and fifty thousand gallons. In Ohio and Missouri the wine culture is already one of the greatest interests, and is rapidly extending; the rich, rolling prairie of Kansas is admirably adapted to the vine, and it is said that some wild grapes, which grow in great abundance there, are of a very excellent quality. Even Connecticut talks about becoming a wine producing State.

Cooper's prophecy, that in fifty years, or sooner, we shall export our poetry and wine, is already beginning to be fulfilled; and present facts clearly warrant the expectation that the United States will become a wine producing country. A very agreeable wine is said to have been made from the tomatoes, and at a late pomological meeting in London, a gentleman handed around some wine manufactured from mangel wurtzel, which was pronounced excellent, and which the manufacturer said could be produced for sixpence a quart. A chemist, who analyzed it, said it only needed an astringent, such as might be supplied from the hop root, to render it a wholesome beverage. With wine from beets, and whiskey from the sorghum, exhilarating drinks are not likely to become scarce.—*Springfield Repub.*

## COMMERCE.

### UNITED STATES IMPORTS OF MANUFACTURED GOODS.

THE United States official returns give the values of dry goods imported into the United States in various years, as follows, compared with the aggregate of all the imports:

	1880.	1887.	1880.	1887.
Wool—piece goods.....	\$6,121,143	\$8,926,382	\$6,184,190	\$11,009,605
Shawls and mixed.....		19,323	985,343	2,246,351
Blankets.....	1,180,478	2,397,824	1,244,335	1,630,973
Hosiery.....	325,856	700,590	718,135	1,740,829
Worsted—piece goods.....	3,853,935	6,669,812	5,004,250	11,365,669
Yarn.....		211,894	170,639	192,147
Flannels.....		306,953	88,593	165,779
Baises and Bockings.....		168,760	101,256	119,835
Carpeting.....	420,698	964,655	720,514	1,784,196
Woolen—miscellaneous.....	400,651	713,757	1,914,159	1,090,734
Cotton—piece.....	14,445,751	14,959,767	15,413,593	21,441,082
Velvets.....			196,094	678,294
Cords, &c.....			6,026	213,824
Hose.....	887,957	1,358,608	1,558,173	3,910,287
Twist.....	398,414	555,290	799,156	1,401,153
Other miscellaneous.....	863,102	1,002,422	2,125,708	1,741,086
Silk—piece.....	7,958,978	22,079,002	14,459,560	22,067,869
Hose.....	2,945,305		616,217	839,299
Sewing.....		53,542	489,457	911,723
Hats and bonnets.....			53,187	151,792
Miscellaneous.....		609,628	872,380	4,442,522
Raw and floss.....	83,557	37,567	401,385	984,846
Boiling cloths.....	52,203	80,523	17,331	57,602
and worsted.....		3,171,023	1,653,869	1,580,246
Goats' hair goods.....		386,450	2,040	568,993
Linen.....	8,790,111	8,271,513	7,063,184	9,976,898
Hose.....			8,531	4,913
Miscellaneous.....		1,085,680	1,067,959	1,450,292
Tickenburgs and Osnaburgs.....	514,645	892,794	67,364	130,864
Cotton bagging.....	18,966	19,805	251,905	14,069
Lace thread.....	1,369,465	1,457,449	185,925	321,961
Cotton.....			676,627	1,129,754
Embroideries.....				4,448,175
Clothing.....	102,243		818,261	1,918,988
Total dry goods.....	\$46,587,766	\$70,670,419	\$67,949,711	\$110,991,189
Sugar and molasses.....	6,658,181	15,701,011	9,549,729	80,873,779
Other imports.....	49,950,177	103,608,505	100,638,879	199,025,173
Total imports.....	\$106,191,124	\$189,980,035	\$178,138,319	\$390,890,141

This table gives two periods of similar extent, both ending in panic. It will be borne in mind that in 1880-'87, silks, worsted, and linens were free of duty,

while cotton paid an *ad valorem* on an official valuation per square yard, being the same as a high specific duty. This was introduced by Mr. Calhoun, as a measure of war protection, soon after the war, and was continued down to 1842. For this reason it was, doubtless, that cottons did not increase so rapidly as the other goods. The import of silks was then higher than it has been since. That was an era not of general prosperity, but of paper speculation, and the most luxurious goods were demanded by the speculators.

The year 1850 was that in which the gold discovery gave an impulse to business, and the upward movement has been progressive, until the imports doubled in the last year as compared with 1850. During that period probably five million souls have been added to the population, which would require an increase of twenty per cent. in the imports to afford the same consumption, *per capita*, as in 1850, but the aggregate value has doubled, corresponding as well with the increased wealth of the country as well as that of numbers. The increase which has taken place in the import of dry goods is far less than that which marks the progress in other branches. The single article of sugar alone shows—partly owing to short crops—as great an increase as all the dry goods put together, and, exclusive of sugar and dry goods, the importation of all other articles has doubled. There can be drawn from these facts no argument in support of the theory that the business in dry goods has been overdone, nor that to that branch of business can be ascribed the difficulties of the past season. The dry goods trade certainly is prominent, and is conducted on a system of very extended credits; but it is evident from the above figures that it has not been the cause of the failures of the last fall, involving the suspension of the banks. It is also observable that the articles of pure luxury, with the consumption of which the ladies of New York have been charged, appear ludicrously small in the general account. Fashionable ladies do not wear woolens, nor baize, nor calicoes, at least those articles are not charged upon them as an extravagance, but they are upbraided with crinoline and lace, silks and precious stones, and that account seems to stand thus:

	1850.	1857.
Silks.....	\$15,075,777	\$22,906,663
Embroideries.....	2,484,869	4,448,175
Lace thread.....	155,925	321,961
Furs.....	148,877	508,653
Jewelry.....	322,257	508,653
Gems.....	60,963	304,794
Total.....	\$18,264,228	\$29,089,043
Increase.....		\$10,824,815
	1850.	1857.
Wines.....	\$2,156,222	\$4,274,203
Brandy, &c.....	3,166,841	8,968,625
Cigars.....	1,469,007	4,221,096
Total.....	\$6,792,170	\$13,458,923
Increase.....		\$6,666,753

These sums do not appear formidable when we bear in mind that the population has increased twenty-five per cent., and that the wealth of the country has increased \$150,000,000 in the seven years embraced, and also that in the same time over \$600,000,000 has been spent in railroads, of many of which very little remains. In the great prosperity which the country has manifested in the last ten years, it is to be considered that in this nation the prosperity is well distributed—that it is not confined to the higher ranks—while the great masses remain unchanged. When the crops are good, business active, and employment general, prosperity shows itself in the improved dress of almost every female in the land, as well as that of the males. The various combinations of silk, wool, flax, and cotton, are drawn upon for the adornment of all ranks. In Europe it is different—from age to age the same dresses and style of home-made goods are adhered to by the peasantry through all changes. Prosperity with them means enough to eat, and adversity starvation. When crops are there good, and markets active, the revenues of the nobility and gentry swell like the mountain torrents in the spring, and like them carry off the surplus of the whole country into the dissipation of the capitals. It is reported that one lady at a late Imperial ball was clothed in what cost \$175,000. If we look

at the above figures, we find that the whole importation of gams and laces into the United States for 1857—that “year of extravagance”—was enough to clothe five such ladies, but where that lady represented the concentrated productions of thousands of workers, the ladies of the United States are compelled to share with the workers, and prosperity indicates a greater number of serviceable garments for the majority. This demand has been supplied more from the domestic manufacturers than from the foreign looms. These have competed for custom on credit in the ruinous manner developed in the failure of Lawrence, Stone & Co. It is also true that the medium of credit has been used to obtain goods from abroad to raise money on, and also that speculators abroad have raised money by obtaining goods there to turn into cash here, and that these operations have pressed heavily upon the regular manufacturers and importers. Nevertheless, the general business has been sound. Notwithstanding the great temptation of credit, the retail dealers, as a mass, seem to have been prudent, and not bought more than the consumption absolutely demanded. The competition of the speculators has served to keep down the prices of goods at the expense of the manufacturer, while materials have advanced; but it has not succeeded in making the country overpurchase. The market seems now to be cleared at home and abroad from those kiting operations, leaving the great mass of dealers and importers in a sound position, with very short supplies of goods, in face of great national wealth and an impending renewal of demand.—*U. S. Economist.*

## SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE.

We extract the following tables from the recent very instructive speech made in Congress by the Hon. J. M. Sandige, of Louisiana.

(Compiled from Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, “Commerce and Navigation,” 1857.)

*Table of the foreign commerce of the United States, and of the nine principal ports, and their relative positions; and a comparative table of Northern and Southern foreign trade.*

Port.	Rank of port.	Exports.	Rank of port.	Imports.	Rank of port.	Tonnage cleared.	Rank of port.	Tonnage entered.
All ports of the U. S.	.....	\$278,906,713	.....	\$260,890,141	.....	7,070,821	.....	7,186,216
Northern ports.....	.....	114,098,660	.....	319,707,807	.....	5,508,765	.....	5,852,638
Southern ports.....	.....	164,808,053	.....	41,182,334	.....	1,567,056	.....	1,333,628
New York.....	1	91,433,306	3	24,591,303	2	723,560	3	612,236
New Orleans.....	2	74,538,238	1	222,550,307	1	1,756,441	1	2,035,649
Mobile.....	3	20,575,987	9	709,909	5	156,110	5	107,454
Charleston.....	4	15,393,506	6	2,016,734	6	143,473	6	126,126
Baltimore.....	5	13,393,392	5	10,531,208	4	185,286	4	163,331
Boston.....	6	12,131,531	2	44,840,033	3	666,392	2	714,831
Savannah.....	7	10,670,273	8	779,909	8	120,820	7	108,685
Philadelphia.....	8	6,833,653	4	17,350,630	7	241,020	4	159,102
Richmond.....	9	5,745,002	7	843,461	9	47,475	9	12,535

Northern products exported.....	\$101,056,104
Southern products exported.....	177,850,609
Total exports to France.....	31,737,258
Cotton, tobacco, and rice, to France.....	23,825,690
Total exports to Spain.....	10,678,004
Cotton, tobacco, and rice, to Spain.....	7,942,333
Total exports to Cuba.....	9,379,533

## RESULTS.

Ratio of exports from Southern ports to those from Northern ports.....	16 to 11— $\frac{1}{2}$
Ratio of Southern products to Northern products exported.....	17 to 10— $\frac{1}{2}$ 7-10ths
Ratio of Southern imports to Northern imports.....	4 to 31— $\frac{1}{2}$
Ratio of Southern exports to France to Northern exports to France.....	23 to 8—3
Ratio of Southern exports to Spain to Northern exports to Spain.....	79 to 27—3
Ratio of exports from New Orleans to exports from New York.....	95 to 74— $\frac{1}{2}$
Ratio of exports from New Orleans to exports from all ports.....	91 to 278—8-10ths

*Value of the agricultural products of the United States—1850.*

Products.	Total United States.	Northern States.	Southern States.
Corn .....	\$296,085,552	\$121,506,802	\$174,528,750
Wheat .....	100,485,944	72,575,148	27,910,796
Cotton .....	98,603,720	.....	98,603,720
Hay .....	96,870,494	88,889,363	7,981,131
Oats .....	43,975,253	32,007,921	11,967,332
Butter .....	50,135,248	40,397,176	9,738,072
Potatoes .....	45,453,232	26,256,175	19,197,057
Wool .....	15,755,087	11,915,732	3,839,355
Tobacco .....	13,982,686	1,032,716	12,949,970
Cane sugar .....	12,378,850	.....	12,378,850
Rye .....	7,803,847	6,916,284	887,563
Orchard products .....	7,723,186	6,342,415	1,380,771
Buckwheat .....	6,969,838	6,047,718	222,120
Peas and beans .....	5,762,436	985,396	4,777,040
Market garden .....	5,230,030	3,895,650	1,384,380
Cheese .....	5,276,705	5,207,896	68,899
Hemp .....	5,247,430	297,000	4,950,430
Rice .....	4,000,000	.....	4,000,000
Barley .....	3,616,910	3,505,523	113,387
Molasses .....	2,540,179	111,129	2,429,050
Wax and honey .....	2,376,606	1,102,154	1,274,452
Clover seed .....	2,344,890	2,023,215	321,675
Maple sugar .....	1,712,671	1,608,238	104,433
Hops .....	1,223,960	1,213,177	10,783
Flax seed .....	843,468	538,377	305,091
Grass seed .....	833,662	702,300	131,362
Flax .....	770,967	294,947	476,020
Wine .....	442,498	352,268	90,230
Silk cocoons .....	5,421	2,788	2,633
Slaughtered animals .....	111,706,925	57,307,627	54,399,298
Poultry .....	13,000,000	6,440,000	6,560,000
Eggs .....	5,000,000	2,421,875	2,578,125
Milk .....	7,000,000	4,600,000	2,400,000
Wood .....	20,000,000	15,080,000	4,920,000
Small crops .....	5,000,000	3,200,000	1,800,000
Residium, &c. ....	165,000,000	79,000,000	86,000,000
	<hr/> \$1,164,457,783	<hr/> \$603,775,018	<hr/> \$560,682,765

## THE FLORIDA GULF STREAM.

LIEUT. E. B. HUNT, of the U. S. Navy, read a paper on the 3d ult. before the American Scientific Convention, in session at Baltimore, on the anomalies in the Florida Gulf Stream, and their further investigation. The difficulties of navigation among those reefs, he thought, were greatly exaggerated, and that the rates of insurance were in consequence entirely too high. Nevertheless the risk is great, and he is of opinion that a national pilotage should be established. Lieut. H., from personal observation at Key West and the neighborhood, was fully convinced that the popular views of the movements of the currents there embody serious errors. All currents are accompanied by eddies or reflected currents, and this phenomena takes place on a magnificent scale in the neighborhood of the Florida Straits, and a knowledge of these eddies is of great advantage to a navigator there, but it is acquired with difficulty, since the eddies vary somewhat with the season and the winds.

## MOLASSES TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES.

1857.	Hogsheads.	Tierces.	Barrels.
At New York.....	62,056	5,005	25,820
Boston, from Cuba.....	30,848	2,330	6,622
Boston, from Porto Rico.....	660	26	1,314
Boston, from Surinam.....	1,909	65	39
Boston, from other foreign ports.....	555	83	236
Portland, from Cuba, &c.....	18,195	1,546	3,407
New Haven, from Porto Rico, &c.....	9,373	293	935
Gloucester and Providence, Cuba, &c.....	5,666	245	2,098
Newburyport and Salem, from Surinam, &c..	823	21	92
Bristol, Warren, and other Eastern ports, from Cuba, &c.....	2,319	155	215
Philadelphia, from Cuba.....	14,696	1,567	7,525
Philadelphia, from Porto Rico.....	649	40	23
Philadelphia, from English Islands, &c.....	1,301	29	....
Baltimore, from Cuba.....	5,276	621	6,132
Baltimore, from Porto Rico.....	1,648	60	267
Baltimore, from English Islands, &c.....	3,203	138	304
New Orleans, from Cuba, &c.....	11,768	2,097	28,247
Savannah, Charleston, and other Southern ports, from Cuba, &c.....	10,876	976	4,069
Total receipts.....	184,819	15,297	87,344
Add stock at all the ports January 1, 1857..	8,256	....	....
Total supply.....	193,075	15,297	87,344
Deduct exports and shipments inland to Canada from all the ports, in 1857.....	18,318	1,875	10,464
	174,757	13,422	76,880
Deduct stock at all the ports, January, 1, 1858.	10,473	....	7,197
Total consumption of foreign.....	134,284	13,422	69,683
Containing.....Gallons....			23,266,404
Add crop of Louisiana, Texas, Florida, &c., of 1856-'57, the most of which came to market in 1857, and assuming the stock of this description, 1st January, of each year, to be equal.....Gallons....			5,242,880
Would make the whole consumption in 1857.....			28,508,784
Total consumption in 1856.....			39,608,878
Decrease in 1857.....Gallons....			11,100,094

## MANUFACTURES AND MINING.

## SOUTHERN MANUFACTURES.

We extract from that excellent newspaper and conservative journal, the Boston Post, the following interesting and liberal views on Southern manufactures, contained in a long and able article on that subject:

The introduction of manufacturing establishments into the Southern States is even more recent than their rise in the North. And even now their number is comparatively small. Every State south of Mason and Dixon's line is strictly neither commercial nor manufacturing in its character, but agricultural. And

whatever attention has been given to the introduction of manufactures on any considerable scale, has happened within a few years, and more particularly since the anti-slavery crusade of the North against their Southern neighbors. Before that, the Southern people willingly paid their money, whether earned by free or slave labor, to their Northern brethren, for the products of their manufactories and workshops, which they as willingly received, thus becoming partakers of whatever wrongs the system of slavery involves. The South, instantly perceiving the inconsistency and hypocrisy of the abolitionists, who did not refuse to make money out of the price of slave labor whenever they were able, and to the extent of their ability, became disgusted and offended, and has from that day been acting on the defensive. Unwilling to pay large profits to those who were abusing them, and for the very system that they themselves have all their lives been aiding and abetting, the Southern people have recently built factories and manned them quite extensively, and the work is going on with constantly increasing vigor. The subject has been discussed in various Southern commercial conventions, convened in all portions of the South—at New Orleans, at Memphis, at Charleston, at Richmond, and at various other places.

It is true that up to this day the South is more dependent upon the factories of the North than it wishes to be, unless Northern sentiment and conduct shall become materially changed. But the signs of the times now clearly indicate that her well-begun system of manufactures will be continued, improved, and widely extended, so as to become independent, or nearly so, of the North.

According to the latest returns, official and unofficial, there were in the United States, in 1850, 131,657 manufacturing establishments; of which 103,932 were in the free States, and 27,725, or considerably more than one-fifth of the whole, were situated in the slave States. The entire capital invested in all these establishments amounted in round numbers to the great sum of \$530,000,000. The value of raw material used and consumed yearly amounted to \$550,000,000; amount paid for labor, \$240,000,000; value of articles manufactured, \$1,020,300,000; number of persons employed, 1,050,000.

The State with the largest number of manufactories is New York, with 23,553; next in rank is Pennsylvania, with 21,595; while Ohio comes next, with 10,550; and Massachusetts is fourth, numbering her 8,259. Virginia stands first among the Southern States, or fifth among all, numbering 4,841. The other States in the South having the greater number are Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, that rank next to Virginia in the order mentioned, and that have from 3,708 to 1,016 establishments.

If we look at manufactories of cotton goods we find there are 1,094 establishments in the whole country, of which 892 are in the free States, and 202, or not quite one-fifth of the whole, are in the slave States. The State having the greatest number of cotton mills in operation is Massachusetts, that counts up 213; while Pennsylvania has 208; and next rank Rhode Island, with 158, and Connecticut, with 128. Of the Southern States, Georgia is at the head, with 35 mills; next in order are Tennessee, with 33; North Carolina, with 28; Virginia, with 27; Maryland, 24; South Carolina, 18; Alabama and Delaware, 12 each; Kentucky, 8; Arkansas, 3; and Mississippi, 2. Louisiana, Texas, and Florida, at the last accounts, had no mills of the kind. The amount of capital invested in all these cotton factories is \$74,501,031, and the number of bales of cotton consumed a year is 641,240. The value of the entire product yearly is \$61,869,184; and the number of hands employed is 92,286, more than two-thirds of whom are females. Of all the hands employed, 13,945 find work in the Southern States. The number of yards of sheeting, &c., made annually, is 763,678,407.

The number of establishments for the manufacture of woolen goods in the country is 1,559, with a capital of \$28,118,650, and consuming 70,862,829 pounds of wool per year. The number of hands employed is 39,252, the largest proportion of whom are males. The annual value of the products is \$43,287,555, and the number of yards is 82,296,652.

Pennsylvania ranks first in the number of her woolen mills, having 380. Next comes New York, with 249. Then follow Connecticut, with 140; and Ohio, with 130. The first Southern State in this department is Virginia, having

121 mills, or two more than Massachusetts; a fact that we think will be surprising to most readers. The other slave States have woolen mills as follows: Maryland, 28; Kentucky, 25; Delaware, 8; Tennessee, 4; Georgia, 3; North Carolina, Missouri, and Texas, 1 each; South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas had no mills of the kind in 1850. The entire number of woolen factories in the slave States is 202, or not quite as many, in proportion, as we found in the same section of cotton mills.

There were, at the last accounts, 382 establishments for the manufacture of pig iron in the United States. About half the whole number are found in the State of Pennsylvania, or nearly twice as many as are scattered through the South. Next to Pennsylvania ranks Ohio; and third in rank is Virginia, with 29 manufactories. Tennessee has 23; Kentucky, 21; Maryland, 18; Missouri, 5; Georgia and Alabama, 3 each; and North Carolina, 2. About one-fourth of all the capital of the business is invested in the Southern States, Maryland and Tennessee having more than twice as many dollars invested each than Virginia. The value of the annual products is \$12,748,777.

For the manufacture of iron castings there are 1,391 establishments in the United States, of which but a small proportion, or 168, are in the South. New York has the largest number of establishments, 323, and the largest amount of capital invested in them. Pennsylvania has nearly as many manufactories, but upwards of a million dollars less capital. Ohio is doing about half as much business in this department as New York. Of the Southern States, Virginia takes the lead, with 54 establishments. Kentucky has 20, Tennessee and Maryland, 16 each; Delaware, 13; Alabama, 10; Mississippi and Louisiana, 8 each; Missouri and South Carolina, 6 each; North Carolina, 5; Georgia, 4; and Texas, 2. The entire capital invested is \$17,416,361; and the annual products are valued at \$25,108,155.

There are but 422 manufactories of wrought iron in the land, 129 of which are in the South, and 131 in Pennsylvania. Tennessee has forty-two establishments; Virginia, 39; North Carolina, 19; Maryland, 17; Georgia, 3; Delaware and Missouri, 2 each; and Alabama, 1. The entire capital invested in the business is \$14,495,220.

Most of the malt and spirituous liquors are manufactured in the Northern States, since of the \$2,324,254 invested in the manufacture, but \$923,490 is thus used in the South. Above a fourth part of all the capital is invested in New York, and there is more in each of the States of Pennsylvania and Ohio than in the entire Southern States. The annual product is as follows: Barrels of ale, 1,177,924; gallons of whisky and high wines, 42,133,955; gallons of rum, 6,500,500.

There are 8,263 tanneries in the United States, of which the South has nearly one-third part, or 2,005. Pennsylvania alone has nearly one-sixth part of the whole number, or 1,039. The Southern States rank in the following order: Tennessee has 394; Virginia, 341; Kentucky, 275; North Carolina, 151; Alabama, 149; Missouri, 148; Georgia, 140; Maryland, 116; Mississippi, 92; South Carolina, 91; Arkansas, 51; and the other Southern States, a less number each. The entire capital invested in all the tanneries in the land is \$18,900,557; the number of skins in them being 2,659,865, and the number of sides of leather counting up 12,257,940.

Mining, as well as manufacturing, is carried on considerably in Missouri. The mineral region of the State is said to equal in extent the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Delaware. Almost all metals are found there, with the exception of gold and platina. There were \$2,000,000 invested in that State in manufacturing and mining eight years ago.

We must not forget that the South manufactures large quantities of sugar and molasses, produced from the culture of the sugar cane. Each sugar plantation has its manufactory of sugar, the process of producing which is a very nice one, requiring much general knowledge, and a particular acquaintance with the science of chemistry. Louisiana is the great sugar and molasses State, yielding nearly all raised in the South. It is sometimes termed the "sugar-bowl of the South." Other States in which sugar is raised and manufactured are Alabama, Texas, Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida.

And then there is another kind of manufacturing in the South that is almost

unknown in this section of the country. We refer to the manufacture of tobacco. As Virginia is the leading State in its production, so it is also in its manufacture. In the city of Richmond alone there are now fifty-six manufacturers of the staple, whose united capital amounts to four or five millions of dollars. More tobacco is opened, inspected, and sold in that city, probably, than in any other single place in the United States. It is there that the choicest specimens of the weed assumed the shape which commends it to the regard of devoted chewers everywhere. Tobacco is put up in as many different ways, almost, as they are chewers. There is as much difference between the ideas of the Yankee and Southerner, on the question of taste, as there is on any other matter. The former likes his "pig tail," plentifully sweetened, and liquoriced to a degree; the latter, the less sweetening you put in the better the tobacco. Buyers congregate in Richmond from all parts of the country, who purchase for all portions of the globe. Foreign governments are supplied by agents who reside there for that purpose. With many citizens the road to wealth has been paved with tobacco.

Our readers, who have followed us thus far, are undoubtedly surprised that there is so much manufacturing in the South. It is considerable, and is increasing to be very considerable, though the common impression has been that there was next to none south of Mason and Dixon's line. And if we consider the annual value of home manufactures, which is \$27,493,644, \$18,634,129 of which is the product of the South, and only \$8,859,515 of the North, the section of country that we are considering is presented to us in a still more favorable aspect.

In considering the subject under contemplation, and the prospective wants of the people of this country, we are deeply impressed that this is to become a great manufacturing nation. At present it is more celebrated for its agricultural, than for either of the other leading interests of mankind, and then it ranks as the second commercial power on the globe. As a nation, on the contrary, it has not been celebrated for its manufactures; though within a quarter of a century this section of the land is beginning to take rank with the most advanced nations in this department of industry. And when we consider the almost countless rivers, of all sizes and descriptions, coursing through our country from ocean to ocean, and from the lakes to that gulf that has been called "the great heart of the ocean," and contemplate the countless waterfalls afforded by them, all ready to propel machinery enough to do the manufacturing of the globe; and when we think of the cheap labor, free and slave, that can be commanded in all portions of the land, and the abundant commercial advantages for conveying American manufactures, by sea and land, to every nation, and to every isle, through our swift ships, and swifter rail cars, it appears to be no stretch of imagination to conceive of this nation as being the greatest manufacturing land of the globe, a century, or even a half a century hence.

As for the South, we see no reason why she may not embark very largely in manufacturing within the next quarter of a century. She has the capital; she has the water power in great abundance; she has 4,000,000 of slaves, the estimated number of whom will be 5,000,000, in 1865, and 1890, 10,000,000, unless some unexpected event shall prevent their wonted increase; and she has, besides, a great multitude of poor white laborers, who are much in want of the employment that manufactories would afford. Besides, cotton and wool are great staples of the South, and she can use them to a much greater advantage than to export them abroad, since the cost of exportation is so great, and since she needs a large portion of the manufactured goods for her own consumption. Great Britain is now the great consumer of American cotton. Our foreign exports of the article, in 1840, amounted to 743,941,061 pounds; while the home consumption for the same year reached 118,915,200. In 1850, we exported 635,381,604 pounds, and consumed at home 195,107,600. Our cotton factories, in 1850, consumed as much cotton as did those of Great Britain, in 1831; thus affording encouragement that they may, by proper management, be so multiplied as to consume the whole crop of the country at no very distant day.

In the year 1846, the late and Hon. Abbott Lawrence, of this city, addressed several letters to the Hon. William C. Rives, of Virginia, on the policy of Vir-

ginia and the South in reference to the introduction of manufactures and internal improvements. In one of these letters, Mr. Lawrence said:

"You cannot do anything in Virginia that will so completely promote the introduction of railroads as the placing of manufacturing establishments on your beautiful waterfalls. The water power on the James river, at Richmond, is unrivalled, and it seems a great waste of natural wealth to permit it to run into the sea, having hardly touched a water-wheel. If the prominent men of Virginia, of both political parties, will give up their party warfare, and resolve themselves into a 'committee of the whole commonwealth, to improve the state of agriculture,' by making two blades of grass grow where there is now but one; if they will establish manufactures, and carry on a well-adjusted system of internal improvements, they will then have done something that will be substantial, abiding—which will stand as substantial memorials of their patriotic devotion to the interests of the people through all times."

Undoubtedly, the worn-out condition of much of the land in the older States of New England, was one principal reason for the introduction of manufactures with us. The same reason urges Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and other Southern States, to make up what they have lost by the depreciation of their lands, by improving their waterfalls, and by manufacturing their cotton at home, instead of sending it abroad. The South can produce cotton cloth, and a better article, cheaper than either Old or New England, because she has the cotton on the ground, and in a better condition than it can possibly be after a removal of hundreds or thousands of miles, thus being exposed to drenching rains, to be rolled in the mud of wharves, or to be bleached or rotted by exposure, in its long travels by sea or land. If cotton has done so much to make England great during the last sixty or seventy years, or since she received the first bale from our shores; if it has added so much to the industry and prosperity of New England, what will it not do for the South when she learns to manufacture it at home, thus producing many valuable home markets for the agriculturalist, and making cotton a king in a double sense.

### IRON ORE IN WISCONSIN.

PROF. DANIELS, State Geologist of Wisconsin, has lately made a report of his explorations in that State for iron ore. From that report, we gather the following items:

The first and principal iron district is that of the Iron Ridge in Dodge county, on the line of the La Crosse and Milwaukee railroad. The ore of Iron Ridge was first noticed in 1851. It is a very peculiar species of the oolitic ore, consisting of small grains or concretions but little larger than mustard seed, and containing, according to several analyses, 51 per cent. of metallic iron. The extent of the deposit is estimated at 27,225,000 tons of available ore, and may be regarded, to all intents and purposes, inexhaustible. The expense of running this ore, from the loose character of the substance, does not exceed 12½ cents per ton. It requires no roasting, and yields by the simple application of heat in its original state.

The most extensive deposit of iron in Wisconsin is that in the neighborhood of Black River Falls, Jackson county. The beds in this region have only recently attracted the attention of capitalists. They consist of hematite and specular ore, the latter a magnetic variety. They are 18 feet in thickness and are estimated to contain 55,000,000 tons of available iron. The two varieties contain respectively 48 and 45 per cent. of metallic iron. A German company have erected a furnace near Black River Falls, in which they manufacture one ton of pig iron from two tons of ore. The facilities for transporting the products are the Black and Mississippi rivers, the former being navigable from its mouth to the works of the company.

The other beds examined are those of Hartford, Washington county, Depere, Brown county, Barraboo, Sauk county. These are all as yet undeveloped.

The cost of producing a ton of pig at Iron Ridge is \$15 70; at Black River Falls \$19 50. The cost of Scottish pig delivered from the furnace is \$12 50;

English and Welch \$18 75; New York \$18 50; Pennsylvania \$16. The two former are now selling in Western markets at \$28 to \$35 per ton; the latter at \$30 to \$33. These prices are ruinously low, yet the Wisconsin article can be afforded at from \$10 to \$18 per ton less than the imported product.

Speaking of the future demand for Iron, for the Northwest, Prof. Daniels remarks:

There are no valuable iron ores in the northern part of Illinois, in eastern Iowa or in Minnesota, as yet discovered. We have thus an extensive district, much of it already densely populated, and all of it capable of sustaining a dense population, which can be supplied with iron from our ores, more cheaply than from any other quarter. This district includes the great cities of Milwaukee, the metropolis of Wisconsin, and Chicago, the metropolis of the Northwest, and holds a population of 2,100,000 people. Its annual consumption of iron in various forms of ordinary use, cannot be less than 22,000 tons. Allowing it to build 300 miles of railroad per annum, and adding the consumption of iron in re-rolling of old track upon the 2,000 miles of road already completed, once in ten years, and the annual demand for railroad iron will not fall short of 35,000; the entire demand for iron will therefore be about 57,000 tons, the market value of which will be not less than \$2,280,000.

This may seem a very large amount in the aggregate, but let any one calculate the amount of iron in all the stoves, ploughs, tools, machinery, pipe, railroad, bars, and other fabrics of iron, used in the four or five great States which we may include in the limits of our market, and he will soon convince himself that it does not exceed the actual consumption.

Suppose the four States of Wisconsin, Northern Illinois, Iowa, and Minnesota to use 900,000 tons annually, we could supply these States with their iron for 233 years.

Our fuel is no less inexhaustible. We have seen immense wooden districts from which charcoal can be obtained for present wants. A little distance south of our border, in Illinois, lie the exhaustless coal beds of the great La Salle basin, from which ~~must~~ come our permanent supply of fuel for the reduction of ores, and the heavy processes of manufacture.

We have cheap motive power, abundant facilities of water and railroad transportation, fire clay, fluxes, and every material requisite for manufacturing iron.

### SANITARY INFLUENCES OF SALT.

Let me now submit to you the results of my observation and experience; you will then be convinced that salt-works have always been one of the most effective means of rendering a country healthy, and that the system of draining by which they are preceded, should also precede in the submerged lands of Louisiana, the progress of culture and civilization. For instance, look at the western coast of France, and examine the marshy region situated between the Loire and the Gironde. Seven or eight million bushels of salt are annually manufactured there by the waters of the Atlantic, and more than twenty thousand workmen owe to this branch of industry their means of existence. These very laborers will inform you unanimously that that region would be uninhabitable except for the salt-works; and they will add: "If our salt-works were better managed, if the fresh were more carefully separated from the salt-water, so as to prevent brackish mixture in the ditches outside and in the interior irrigation, the country would become much more healthy, and the production of salt would be more abundant."

Let us go to the south of France, to the shores of the Mediterranean, where the salt making is highly improved, and we will witness the same results in different degrees according to location. Thus, if vast salt-works are established in the midst of swamps infected by fever, (the salt-works of Berre for instance,) the fever will immediately cease in the middle, although it may continue on the outside, and the laborers from the neighborhood will always take care to come and spend the night in the salt-works as an asylum, until

their influence and the progress of drainage and agriculture shall have rendered the whole region healthy.

We find another example in the swamps of Piccais, between Aigues-Mortes and the mouth of the Rhone, which, fifty years ago, were quite uninhabitable on account of the *malaria*. With the exception of the laborers on the old salt-works, no one lived in these swamps but custom-house officers and a few soldiers, for at that time England was closely blockading all Europe against Napoleon. These custom-house officers and soldiers were so many victims condemned to suffer the effects of a killing climate. Thence the term *military fever* was derived, the name of the disease which too often became fatal in that disastrous region.

Since that period, the manufacture of salt having undergone two or three technical revolutions, and all the old salt-works on a smaller scale having been combined in one single establishment of 4,000 or 5,000 acres, the influence of these vast salt-works has produced a complete revolution in the condition of the climate; everything has been entirely changed. The pernicious or brain fevers have completely disappeared; and as for those that are caught by imprudence or by excesses, they are intermittent, of a very innocent character and are quite rare.

The vast salt-works surrounding Aigues-Mortes have contributed with the same success to render that marshy region healthy. Canals have been contributing towards similar results, and these different measures, by encouraging labor, and industry, have produced a double revolution, equally happy and prolific: first in the health, and then in the material improvement of the whole sea coast. Such is the important lesson to be learned from these French works, which is perfectly applicable to the future salt-works of Louisiana.

As for the experiments in Italy, where I spent five years in making practical studies and works, and where the superiority in natural hydraulic works was remarked by Napoleon himself, it is so prolific a subject that it can merely be alluded to at present. I will only recall some of the principles which I examined or applied in founding, in 1848, the salt-works of Cervia.

1. All salt-works are commenced by a system of drainage, which offer the true model to be adopted in this latter kind of operation; indeed, the manufacture of salt here depends on the perfection of the drainage; so that the establishing of salt-works in Louisiana would be a means of solving, on a small scale, the grave problem now occupying public opinion, city councils and State government.

2. The art of establishing salt-works teaches us the means of using all the evaporating forces of the winds and of the sun, which are equally applicable to draining, and which operate more powerfully on the waters of rivers, as such water is lighter than salt-water, and offers less resistance to evaporation.

3. The proper employment of these forces which, as yet, I have nowhere met with, not even in Italy, where certainly the art of draining is most advanced, will constitute, I hope, one of the progresses of the hydraulic art. At present, to give an idea of this power of evaporation which surrounds us, and which, in my articles of 1845, published in the New Orleans Bee, I compared with the motive power of the Falls of Niagara, I will only state that the illustrious Lieut. Maury has since calculated it and considers it equivalent, on the average, to a 35-horse steam power for each surface of one square acre. In Southern latitudes, and in Louisiana, we may well suppose it to be of about 35-horse power. Such would be the natural machinery to be employed in the draining of Louisiana, and which would cost nothing, either to the citizens or to the State, while on the other hand, rivers' deposits would be supplied, endless and gratuitous, for the same purpose, by raising up the overflowed bottoms.

Thus one knows at present what relations salt-works, by means of natural evaporation, and drainage, by means of natural hydraulics, have to public health. Let, now, Louisiana and the Southern States reflect on the manifold advantages, derivable from both enterprises, to their welfare and future greatness.

I remain, respectfully.

R. THOMASSY.

## NEW YORK FACTORIES.

We have received through the politeness of the Hon. Gideon J. Tucker, Secretary of State of New York, the New York State census for 1855, which contains elaborate statements of the numbers and occupations in the State. From these we gather the progress of cotton manufactures in the State, as follows:

	No. of Factories.	Value of raw material.	Value of goods.	Cloth made in families, yards.
1825.....	76	.....	.....	.....
1835.....	111	\$1,680,352	\$3,080,709	3,799,917
1845.....	118	1,132,702	2,877,500	2,775,617
1850.....	86	1,985,973	3,591,989	.....
1855.....	86	2,494,531	4,621,133	350,550

This does not show any very rapid progress in the development of the cotton manufacture in the State of New York, although it indicates the aggregation of the small establishments into the larger ones.

The woolen factories compare as follows:

	No. of Factories.	Value of raw material.	Value of goods.	Cloth made in families, yards.	Flannel.
1825....	189	.....	.....	2,913,233	3,468,201
1835....	234	\$1,450,825	\$2,433,192	2,183,951	2,790,069
1845....	345	2,877,804	4,281,257	1,664,366	2,650,116
1855....	184	2,054,882	3,392,207	198,203	379,222

Both factory goods and those domestics made in families, seem greatly to have declined in the State in the last few years. This may be owing to the large migration which has taken place among that class which use homespun, to the high prices which wool has obtained, and to the use of foreign goods. The inquiries directed for the census of 1855, on that head, were "to include the quantities of the above cloths woven by hand in families, although the finishing may have been done elsewhere; also, the quantities, whether used in the family or sold."

Under the head of cotton goods, made in families, is, also, embraced linen ones. The results are not flattering to the development of manufacturing industry in the State. The cotton manufacture of the State, as compared with that of the United States, is as follows:

	New York.	U. States.
No. ....	86	1,094
Capital.....	\$4,176,920	\$74,500,731
Bales cotton used.....	37,778	641,240
Value of materials.....	1,985,973	34,835,056
Value of product.....	3,591,989	61,869,184

These figures were for 1850. We may now give the Massachusetts State return for 1845 and 1855:

	1845		1855	
	Value.	Hands.	Value.	Hands.
Cottons.....	\$12,193,449	20,710	\$26,140,538	34,787
Calico.....	4,779,817	2,058	5,213,000	1,157
Bleached and colored....	2,264,700	325	5,111,200	644
Total.....	\$19,237,966	23,088	\$36,464,738	36,588

The value of goods made in Massachusetts, it appears, nearly doubled in the ten years to 1855; and in New York, for the same period, nearly the same results were arrived at, but the proportion of goods is much less in 1855 than in 1845, showing a considerable absorption of the business at the East. This is more marked in the woolen trade, which, in Massachusetts, was as follows:

	1845		1855	
	Value.	Hands.	Value.	Hands.
Goods.....	\$8,877,478	7,372	\$12,105,514	10,090
Carpets.....	834,322	1,084	1,362,819	1,614
Worsted.....	654,566	846	1,448,740	1,062
Hose.....	94,892	238	207,160	256
Total.....	\$11,361,260	9,490	\$15,124,233	13,022

In face of a marked decline in New York, the Massachusetts industry shows a considerable increase. The period, however, embraced the extraordinary operations of the Bay State and other woolen mills, which monopolized the market for raw materials, and became such dangerous sellers of goods. If the returns of Massachusetts industry should now be taken, probably the results would be different. The pounds of wool used in Massachusetts, in 1855, were 18,786,298, or one-third more than the consumption of New York, and more than one-fourth of the whole quantity used in the United States.—*United States Economist*.

## COTTON INDUSTRY OF FRANCE.

We shall hereafter have occasion to refer more fully to the recent report upon cotton made by Mr. Claiborne, of Louisiana. Some of his facts, in regard to the cotton industry of France, we introduce now:

From official records, and from information derived from other high authorities, Mr. Claiborne was enabled to make the following summary of the cotton-spinning business in France:

Number of mills.....	566
Communes in which they are found.....	275
Amount of raw material consumed, lbs.....	138,226,000
Value of the same.....	\$17,519,756
Quantity of cotton spun, (waste not included,) lbs.....	127,600,000
Total value of yarn spun.....	\$27,379,200

Number of hands employed, 63,064, of whom 22,807 are men, at thirty-seven cents; 23,501 women, at nineteen cents; and 16,726 children, at ten cents per day.

Raw material, per centum.....	65
Salaries, general expenses, &c., per centum.....	35

The following table, the result of official inquiries at each establishment, shows the value of the general production of cotton tissues manufactured from the different number of yarns:

Cotton tissues.	No. of establishments.	Value of raw materials and cotton yarn.	Value of production.
Pure.....	1,484	\$18,385,082	\$30,448,200
Open work.....	46	1,004,400	2,697,000
Mixed.....	195	6,942,450	10,387,914
	1,725	26,321,932	43,523,114
Subordinate articles.....	11	288,114	895,623
Total.....	1,736	26,610,044	43,928,737
Accessories to unmixed tissues.....	287	10,977,714	15,427,148
Accessories to mixed tissues.....	17	807,612	1,444,282
Total.....	303	11,785,326	17,182,430
General total.....	2,040	\$38,395,372	\$61,111,167

Add to the number of establishments which fabricate tissues from the yarn, those which spin the yarn itself, and we have 2,606 as the total number of

establishments in France engaged in all branches of the cotton manufacture. The total number of workmen in the empire engaged in this industrial pursuit amounts to 274,930.

In France, among other processes of manufacture, cotton is mixed with wool, flax, and silk, in greater or less proportions. It enters into the fabrications of velvets, silk cravats, and vestings, rich moire antiques, satinets, broadcloths, and linens, and it would seem that the progress of art in that country, and the necessity for new materials, are destined to add still further to its multifarious uses. Mr. Claiborne informs us that 212 establishments, employing 26,000 hands, and with the best and latest kind of machinery, are now engaged in the fabrication of articles of which cotton, mixed with silk, wool, or flax, is a component part. The mills for this purpose are about one-tenth of those devoted to weaving pure cotton.

### PRECIOUS METALS IN THE WORLD.

A CORRESPONDENT asks us for the probable amount of the precious metals in the world, which is a matter so vague as not to be capable of satisfactory solution. Some years since, the officers of the United States mint published a work upon coinage, in which they state that they had collected much information upon the amount of metals coined, in the view to give the amount annually raised in the world; but, after reflection, they had come to the conclusion that no satisfactory statement could be made. As a matter of illustration, we may give a return as follows: Gregory King estimated the gold and silver in the world at the discovery of America, at \$2,500,000,000; while Gerboux, (de la Legislative Monetaire,) computes that of Europe at that period at only \$114,000,000. If we assume the quantity in the world at \$2,000,000,000, we may proceed as follows:

Stock in the world active, 1492.....	\$2,000,000
American mines, 1492 to 1846, Humboldt.....	6,826,000
Mines of Europe and Northern Asia 1492 to 1829, Malthus....	628,000,000
Mines of Europe and Northern Asia and other places, 1829 to 1846.....	50,000,000
Mines of Africa since 1492.....	288,000,000
All countries, 1846 to 1851, Chevalier.....	365,000,000
All countries, 1851 to 1856, Ostreschkoff.....	1,863,750,000
	<hr/>
	\$12,100,750,000

Consumption and waste.....\$3,110,000,000  
Estimated amount in the world..... 8,990,750,000

According to these figures there is \$8,990,750,000 worth of precious metals afloat, or about \$10 to each estimated inhabitant. There are, however, no possible means of estimating the amount in the world in 1492, or the quantities that had through ages accumulated in Asia, and subsequently found its way into Europe. Even the product of the American mines at comparatively a late date are matter of much uncertainty. There has been much research expended on this subject by M. Narces Tarrasenko Ostreschkoff in his work on silver and gold. He gives the quantity produced in the year 1855 as follows:

	Silver—lbs.	Gold—lbs.	Value.
Europe with Russia.....	355,177	68,971	\$23,437,000
America.....	1,705,996	373,635	137,625,000
Asia.....	245,000	59,400	21,375,000
Africa.....	.....	9,240	3,437,500
Australia.....	.....	638,792	187,500,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total.....lbs....	2,306,173	1,140,038	\$372,374,500

These figures, although elaborately prepared, are apparently inaccurate, since Australia produced no such amount of money in 1855, as there set down. She

has produced, in the five years ending in 1855, \$193,600,000 worth of gold. This sum seems to have been taken as the annual production. The American production appears also to be over stated, since California produced but \$60,000,000 in 1855, and the balance of America did not produce more than \$25,000,000 of gold in that year, whereas the aggregate is given at \$112,000,000. These figures illustrate the vagueness of the whole matter.

## INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

### ALABAMA, FLORIDA, AND GULF RAILROAD.

From a recent report of the President of the Company, we extract the following:

The operations of the road lying in Alabama have been as vigorously prosecuted as circumstances would admit. The embankments, culverts, &c., are now being constructed from the terminus of our road at the State line, through Conecuh county, to the southern boundary of Butler county. The distance is 48 miles, and it is estimated that 25 or 30 miles of it will be in condition to receive the rails by the 21st December, 1858. The road bed has been completed 50 miles from Montgomery, a portion of which (34 miles) is supplied with rails and rolling machinery, and is now profitably worked, affording a handsome net income of 50 per cent. over all expenses of traction.

The whole extent of the road, from Pensacola to Montgomery, is 160 miles and 3,000 feet. Of this—

34 miles from Montgomery are now, probably, under operation.

16 miles of road bed are in readiness for track laying.

17 miles remain to be put under contract.

48 miles of the road bed in Conecuh county under contract.

45 miles in Florida are nearly in condition for track laying up to the State line.

During the past year some of the Georgia and Alabama road companies have not been indifferent to the importance of the connection of their roads with the Gulf of Mexico. The directors of the Savannah roads have caused a survey to be made from Franklin, on the Chattahoochee river, toward Mobile, with a view to the extension of the Southwestern and Savannah roads through the lower counties of Alabama. This line of survey crosses and connects with our road at a point a few miles above the State line. The location of the Mobile and Girard road has been changed from Union Springs so as to adhere to the valley of the Conecuh. The new line has been surveyed and fixed. It intersects with our road, also, at a point a few miles above the State line. The enterprise of the people of Mobile will undoubtedly cause the extension of those roads across the rivers Alabama and Tombeckbee to that city, and thus afford to Pensacola communication with the counties lying west of those rivers, and with the Mobile and Ohio Railroad.

The crossing of the Alabama and Tombeckbee rivers and the surrounding swamps, at the point proposed, will involve the most skillful engineering; but the obstacles presented are not insuperable, and, although at great cost, the connection of railroads may be effected.

The people of Selma, the stockholders of the Alabama and Tennessee Railroad, and the coal-field owners of Alabama, deeming a direct communication with the Gulf of Mexico of the greatest importance to their best interests, obtained a charter for a railroad to be extended from Selma to some point of the Pensacola and Montgomery road within Alabama or Florida. This line being established, the inexhaustible coal fields of Alabama; the rich counties of Dallas, Wilcox, Lowndes, Monroe; the western portions of Conecuh and Butler; and the fertile country bordering the railroads radiating to the north and west from Selma, will be brought into immediate communication with Pensacola.

The tendency of these railway lines throughout Georgia and Alabama, to

concentrate upon the Pensacola and Montgomery road, is the natural consequence of the physical structure of the country, and the advantages possessed by the bay and harbor of Mobile for an extended commerce; and of the necessity that the facilities of intercommunication flowing therefrom should no longer be withheld.

It was attempted, in the first and second reports delivered at your annual meetings, to unfold to you the peculiar and striking advantages which your road possesses as being the sole stem of the railroad communications destined to connect Chicago and the West, the great lakes and the North, with the best harbor on the Gulf of Mexico within the limits of the United States; as well as to illustrate the wide spread influence that Pensacola and her railroads would exert, in stimulating and supporting the prosperity of almost every section of the country lying between the Mississippi and the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico and the Northern lakes.

The views then ventured to be taken were considered by many as beyond probable events, if judged only by the experience of the past. They extended beyond the horizon of those who looked to our road as one not exceeding in more than provincial importance—one that would pay its debts under good management, and in good time yield fair dividends, derived from a traffic confined for the most part to the eastern section of Alabama.

The writer of the reports did not consider his estimate of the results that would in no long time be produced by your enterprise, as at all bordering on the extravagant. On the contrary, he refrained from an elaboration of the subject by which his real opinion would have been more fully expressed, fearing the very criticism, which, notwithstanding, he has not entirely escaped.

But he is happy to find that the progress of events, and the institution of new and successful railroad enterprises leading toward Pensacola as their natural and most convenient Gulf terminus, have converted the skeptic into a believer, and enemies into friends; and it is confidently asserted that there is no man present at this meeting, but what is convinced that the completion of our road, and its connections now in progress, will rapidly raise Pensacola to a rank amongst the commercial cities of the South, second only to New Orleans.

The time is not far distant when you may be congratulated upon the termination of your honorable exertions to promote a great public good—a good that will alike be participated in by yourselves, by those in the community who have refused to co-operate with you, and by the country at large.

### NORTHEASTERN RAILROAD.

This road exhibits a very favorable statement for the past year, and gives much encouragement for the future. Besides bringing Charleston in direct connection with the railroad system of North Carolina, it will have the effect of restoring that city to her old position, on the highway of travel between the Atlantic and Gulf States. From the report of the President, we extract:

If the Northeastern Railroad could, in the midst of such a crisis as that through which the whole commercial world has just passed, earn sufficient to pay interest and expenses, what is to be expected when times are ordinarily favorable, and when the resources of the country are fairly developed.

Already villages are springing up on the line of the road, and the wealth of the pine forests, heretofore locked up for want of facilities to reach a market, is about to find its way to the seaboard. Our up way freights give promise of a largely increasing down freight, as no inconsiderable portion of the material carried over the road consists of guano and other manures to improve the soil and increase the products of the country tributary to our road.

The energetic manner in which those in charge of the Charleston and Savannah railroad are now pushing that work to completion—the rapid progress of the Savannah, Albany, and Gulf railroad, which ere long shall reach the Gulf counties of Florida, show that at no distant day Charleston must resume her position on the great thoroughfare of the Atlantic and Gulf States.

Arrangements are now in progress to put a line of first class steamers be-

tween Charleston and Fernandina, Fla., and the railway from that point to Cedar Keys is now more than half finished. In the course of next winter that road will be completed, and, with the steamers from Charleston to Fernandina, and from Cedar Keys to Mobile, New Orleans, Galveston, Vera Cruz, Tehuantepec, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, and Havana—passengers from the North for all of these different ports and countries, together with the California travelers, shall find their shortest route over our road to their respective destinations.

This is no idle or visionary scheme, but one which has already the approval of the Post Office Department, and the earnest co-operation of all the railroad companies from Charleston to New York.

The extension of the line of roads, through the coal fields of North Carolina to Raleigh, may be looked upon as a "manifest destiny." And the prospect of a national foundry at the coal and iron deposits of Deep river, gives promise of a new Sheffield or Birmingham, to which by means of the Northeastern railroad, Charleston is to be the Liverpool.

### THE FIRST LOCOMOTIVES IN THE UNITED STATES.

The Journal of the Franklin Institute, for May, gives the following information in regard to the somewhat vexed question, where and when was the first locomotive used in the United States:

The first locomotives in the United States were brought over from England, by Horatio Allen, of New York, in the fall of 1829 or the spring of 1830; and one of them was set up on the Delaware and Hudson railroad, at Carbondale, Pennsylvania, but being found too heavy for the track, its use was abandoned. The first locomotive constructed in this country, was built by the West Point Foundry, at New York, in 1830, for the South Carolina railroad, and named the *Phoenix*; a second engine was built the same year, by the same establishment, and for the same road, and named the *West Point*. In the spring of 1831 a third engine was built by the same establishment, for the Mohawk and Hudson railroad, from Albany to Schenectady, and called the *De Witt Clinton*; this was the first locomotive run in the State of New York. This engine was put on the road by David Matthew, who now resides in this city, and has been connected with railroads since that time. The first Stephenson locomotive ever imported into this country was the *Robert Fulton*. This engine was brought out in the summer of 1831, for the Mohawk and Hudson railroad, subsequently rebuilt and named the *John Bull*.

The above corresponds with the result of our own inquiries on this subject, and we have no doubt is a correct statement. The Journal, however, does not tell the whole story in regard to the first locomotive built in the United States. That was given to the American Railroad Journal for November 17, 1855, which we reproduce herewith:

The first locomotive, we believe, built in this country, was the engine "Best Friend," built for the South Carolina Railroad Company, in 1830, by Mr. Miller, of New York, then proprietor of the West Point Foundry, where she was constructed. This gentleman went out to England, in 1829, in order to witness the experiments for the £500 premium, on the Liverpool and Manchester road. In March, 1830, a contract was made with the above company for a locomotive which should run ten miles an hour and carry three times her weight. The engine was completed during the summer, taken out to her destination, and tried in December, proving her efficiency to be *double* that contracted for. On the trial trip she made from sixteen to twenty-one miles an hour, with forty to fifty passengers; and without the cars, 30 to 35 miles an hour.

The engine continued to carry passengers on the road, while it was in process of construction. On one occasion she made a trip of seventy-two miles and back, in the same day, while carrying over one hundred passengers! Her weight was about four tons.

Her story, however, is soon told. "The good die young." In June, 1831, while standing at a station, the engineer stepped for a few minutes from off

her, leaving on her a negro who acted as fireman. The latter, it seems, did not altogether relish the music of the steam, then blowing off pretty freely through the safety valve; and accordingly deposited *his whole weight* on the lever to keep down the noise. His "little learning" proved to be "a dangerous thing;" for in a few seconds the engine burst, and carried Sambo *no whar!* Some time afterward she was rebuilt and named "Phoenix," under which deserved appellation she toiled on the road for many a year; and our impression is that she still occupies a crib in the stables of the above corporation.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### TEXAS AND HER FUTURE.

MR. DE CORDOVA has delivered a lecture recently upon Texas, of which we find the following condensation in our exchanges:

He commenced by saying that his only apology for appearing before the audience was the hope that his remarks might serve to enlighten them somewhat on the rare inducements offered in Texas to Northern citizens to immigrate to that State, and make it their future home. The great State of Texas stretched from 25° 45' to 36° 30' north latitude, and from 16° 28' to 29° 45' west longitude from Washington; being over 700 miles from its northern extremity and nearly 800 miles from its eastern to its western limits, containing an area of 237,504 square miles, equal to 175,954,560 acres of land; thus possessing an area equal to five times the extent of the great State of New York, and three times the size of the six New England States. He knew her well when her streams ran red with the blood of her patriots during her struggle for independence; was one of her citizens when she was sovereign and independent; he still clung to her when she peacefully, and without bloodshed, became a bright star in the glorious constellation of the great American Union, and he could say that her prosperous career during the past afforded an earnest that his dream of one day beholding her the Empire State in enterprise and productions, might be indulged with a reasonable hope of its realization. When he contemplated what the power of enterprise had wrought in our high northern latitude, where spring and autumn are swallowed up by winter, he could but wish that this Archimedian power might be exercised on the broad and flower bedecked prairies of his own State of Texas, where nature with a bountiful hand had scattered her choicest blessings of climate, soil, and position. Still, while he entertained no doubt of the great results that might be reached at no very distant period, still he would not endeavor to impress upon their minds that in its present condition Texas was free from the difficulties and hardships attendant upon a frontier life. Although nature had been very bountiful to her, there were many portions of the State, to make which suitable for the habitation of men, labor and enterprise were absolutely necessary. But labor would not be thrown away there, lands were easily to be acquired by the industrious settler, and when a home was made it could be retained; for, by a wise provision of the constitution no family could be stripped of all they possessed. Two hundred acres of land, tools of trade, a horse and saddle, together with necessary household furniture, were exempt from execution. By the law of marital rights not only the property which the wife possessed at the time of marriage, but the increase of all such property as could be identified were exempt from the debts of the husband. To show in what high estimation the advantages of education were held, he would state that one-tenth of the gross revenue of the State was sacredly dedicated to educational purposes. This, with the appropriation by the Legislature of 1853 of \$2,000,000 in the five per cent. stock of the United States, added to grant of lands, had added to the educational fund over two millions and a half of acres of land. He enumerated the public and private institutions of learning, and the principal churches, showing that in this par-

ticular every religious denomination was well represented. The rate of taxation was very light, only 15 cents on the \$100 was the State tax, and 7½ cents the county tax. The personal tax was \$1 per annum. To the hardy and industrious farmer he could safely say that Texas offered very great inducements—Inducements superior, he considered, to any State in the Union. They had millions of acres of as rich land as could be found in the world, which required but a small share of labor. Besides, they would find a market at their own door, this, for every article they could raise, at remunerative prices. The coast lands were admirably adapted to the cultivation of sugar. At the first glance it might appear strange to his hearers that, in the present condition of the State of Texas, he should predict that the day was not far distant when the production of wheat would be of far greater importance than that of either sugar or cotton, and, in all moral probability, of both articles combined, as the soil and climate of the north and northwestern portions of the State were peculiarly adapted to wheat-growing, and that section of the country would be sought and populated by the immense number of immigrants whose means were limited, and who were dependent upon the labor of their own hands and those of their families. These, with those who could afford to purchase a few slaves, would make up the mass of the population that was destined ere long to settle up that large and truly valuable portion of the State. In June last, wheat could have been bought in the neighborhood of Bonham, in Fannin county, at sixty cents per bushel—a price lower than it could be obtained at in any other portion of the world; yet even at this low figure, so easily was the article produced and prepared for market, that the farmers were growing rich by cultivating it. It only needed railroads to supply the markets of the Union with the early June crop, and what was not wanted for home consumption could be readily taken to the European and West India markets. Millet should be sown early in March; the yield was heavy. Rye, barley, and oats, wherever tried, did well. The sweet potato was raised with little or no labor. There was no portion of the American continent where Indian corn could be so readily raised as in western Texas. As regarded pumpkins and the squash, their size and quality would make the hearts of even the thrifty wives of New England rejoice. The hill sides were admirably adapted for the vine, and even now wine was made from the native grape, which closely resembled the Catalonia. No country this side of California could beat them in the production of turnips, carrots, parsnips, beets, and other root crops.

The speaker here went into a description of fruits and flowers that grew spontaneously in this favored soil, such as would, if given, be enough to tempt a speedy emigration of all our horticulturists and florists. Texas was, he said, emphatically a grazing country, and it would be invidious to designate any one spot as presenting superior advantages over the rest of the State for stock raising purposes; yet he should acknowledge that the region of country watered by the Colorado river and other tributaries was pre-eminently adapted to this business. Allowing the highest rate for interest and labor, the whole expense of raising a four-year old beef in Texas does not exceed \$3 10, while the butchers would pay an average of \$16 a piece. Sheep raising was one of the most profitable occupations that a prudent, careful farmer could engage in. The mountainous districts of the State had proved themselves admirably adapted to sheep raising. In the rich Mesquite prairie lands, however, they should guard against over feeding.

Speaking of the cultivation of cotton, he made the assertion that Texas was the only Southern State whose climate would admit of white labor being successfully employed in outdoor pursuits. Without fear of contradiction, and under a deep sense of the responsibility he assumed towards his fellow creatures, he asserted that white labor could be most successfully employed in the upper portion of Texas, without any extraordinary risk of life; all that was necessary being that those engaged in outdoor pursuits should go to work very early in the morning and continue until 10 or 11 o'clock, then rest till 3 o'clock, then labor till sundown, and, in addition, be temperate in their diet and sparing in the use of tobacco and spirituous liquors. Slave labor he believed to be necessary in the cultivation of sugar; but for cotton slave or white labor might be

used; and for everything else he considered free labor the most profitable. Having painted in glowing colors the inducements for immigration to Texas, Mr. C. said that those who resided near the seaboard, and might wish to go there, would find ample facilities for doing so, there being two regular lines to Galveston and one to Port Lavaca, from New York, and a line from Boston to Galveston, besides a large number of transient vessels despatched from Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. The most suitable points to which to direct their footsteps were the upper waters of the Brazos, Colorado, Guadalupe or Red river, where the country was rolling, the water pure, the atmosphere salubrious and invigorating, the hills affording a fine range for cattle, horses, sheep and hogs, with plenty of excellent building stone. He advised settlers not to fall into the common error of taking too much land, but content themselves with from 60 to 100, 160, or at the very most 320 acres, according to their means.

Then as to the class of persons wanted in Texas: after farmers, he would say that teachers, both male and female, who were competent to teach what they professed, would find many openings; mechanics who thoroughly understood their business would do well. To professional men he would say, that neither doctors nor lawyers were wanted; there was not business enough in the country to support them. Let politicians, office-seekers, pipe-layers, and fast young men stay at home—there was no room for them there. To the sportsman Texas afforded a fine field for operations. While in the settled portion of the State there was no lack of game, it was in the unsettled region of territory that the real disciple of Nimrod should look for the true enjoyment of field sports. He dwelt with enthusiasm upon the excitement and pleasures of the buffalo hunt in northwestern Texas. The deer and antelope also abounded, while wild geese, and duck, and smaller birds afforded fine amusement to those who delighted in the use of the fowling-piece.

As regarded works of internal improvement in Texas, they were in their infancy; but they were being pushed forward with the utmost expedition that the condition of the country would permit.

### WHAT THE NATIONAL PRINTING COSTS.

On the 16th of March Mr. Cragin, of New Hampshire, offered a resolution in the House requesting the Superintendent of Public Printing to report "the aggregate cost of the public printing, including cost of paper, binding, engraving, lithographing, and electrotyping, ordered by the Thirty-third Congress, and also the aggregate cost of the same ordered by the Thirty-fourth Congress." Under date of March 31st, Mr. Bowman, the Superintendent, submitted a statement, as follows:

Thirty-third Congress.	Senate.	House of Reps.
Printing, dry-pressing, folding, &c. ....	\$177,075 09	\$231,867 76
Paper.....	199,759 52	300,696 69
Binding, (reserved and extra copies)....	227,560 11	310,898 48
Engravings, lithographs, and electrotypes	388,268 88	441,589 47
<b>Total for Thirty-third Congress.....</b>	<b>\$992,663 60</b>	<b>\$1,288,052 40</b>
Thirty-fourth Congress.	Senate.	House of Reps.
Printing, dry-pressing, folding, &c. ....	\$142,599 80	\$254,641 75
Paper.....	160,553 25	343,610 39
Binding, (reserved and extra copies)....	146,433 41	218,599 42
Engravings, lithographs, and electrotypes	124,168 84	221,685 76
<b>Total for Thirty-fourth Congress.....</b>	<b>\$579,755 30</b>	<b>\$1,038,537 34</b>
<b>Aggregate cost of printing, &amp;c., ordered by the Thirty-third Congress.....</b>		<b>\$2,280,715 00</b>
<b>Aggregate cost of printing, &amp;c., ordered by the Thirty-fourth Congress.....</b>		<b>1,618,292 64</b>

## IMMIGRATION.

We have received a copy of the letter from the Hon. Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, transmitting to the Hon. James L. Orr, Speaker of the House of Representatives, the annual report of passengers arriving in the United States. This report is made in compliance with the act of Congress of March 3, 1855, regulating the carriage of passengers in steamships and other vessels, and contains statements of the number, sex, ages, and occupation of passengers arriving in the United States by sea from foreign countries during the year ending December 31, 1857, with the country in which they mean to reside, and the number that died on the voyage, compiled from the returns made to the State Department by collectors of the customs pursuant to the provisions of said act. The following table shows the number of passengers arrived in the United States during the last fifteen years:

	Males.	Females.	Sex not stated.	Total.
1843.....	38,282	27,107	181	65,570
1844.....	48,897	35,867	...	84,764
1845.....	69,179	49,311	1,406	119,896
1846.....	60,994	66,778	897	158,649
1847.....	139,167	99,325	990	239,482
1848.....	136,128	92,883	472	229,483
1849.....	179,256	119,915	512	299,683
1850.....	200,904	113,392	1,038	315,334
1851.....	245,017	163,745	66	408,828
1852.....	235,731	160,174	1,438	397,343
1853.....	236,732	164,178	73	400,982
1854.....	284,867	175,587	...	460,474
1855.....	140,181	90,283	12	230,476
1856.....	135,308	89,188	...	224,496
1857.....	162,538	109,020	...	271,558
Total.....	2,343,181	1,556,753	7,084	3,907,018

The following table shows the numbers arrived in each collection district during the last year:

*Arrival of passengers in 1857.*

Places.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Portland and Falmouth, Maine.....	1,643	719	2,362
Passamaquoddy, Maine.....	329	206	535
Portsmouth, New Hampshire.....	1	1	2
Boston and Charlestown, Massachusetts....	10,011	7,433	17,444
Edgartown, Massachusetts.....	16	4	20
Fall River, Massachusetts.....	8	13	21
New Bedford, Massachusetts.....	140	57	197
Bristol and Warren, Rhode Island.....	10	..	10
Newport, Rhode Island.....	5	5	10
Providence, Rhode Island.....	98	79	177
Oswego, New York.....	601	231	832
New York, New York.....	121,262	83,525	204,787
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.....	2,907	2,753	5,660
Baltimore, Maryland.....	4,830	4,249	9,079
Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia.....	144	79	223
Charleston, South Carolina.....	742	245	987
Key West, Florida.....	238	65	303
Mobile, Alabama.....	272	92	364
New Orleans, Louisiana.....	12,912	8,387	21,299
Galveston, Texas.....	313	278	591
San Francisco, California.....	6,056	599	6,655
Total.....	162,538	109,020	271,558

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Died on the voyage to Boston and Charlestown, Massachusetts.....	14	8	22
New York, New York.....	198	175	373
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.....	7	7	14
Baltimore, Maryland.....	9	5	14
Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia.....	1	..	1
	229	195	424
Arrivals in the United States.....	162,538	109,020	271,558
Died on the voyage.....	229	195	424
Total number embarked at foreign ports for the United States during 1857.....	162,767	109,215	271,982

Of these passengers who arrived in the United States in 1857, it is stated 243,562 declared their intention to reside here. Nearly one-third of the foreign immigrants were natives of Germany.—*N. Y. Commercial Advertiser*.

### RECEIPTS OF THE BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES.

We give below a statement of the receipts of the leading benevolent and religious societies whose anniversaries were held at New York last week. They are as follows, compared with the last two years:

	1858.	1857.	1856.
American Bible Society.....	\$390,759	\$441,305	\$393,167
American Tract Society.....	333,153	420,585	415,606
*B. C. Foreign Missions.....	188,736	307,318	153,700
Presbyterian Board Foreign Missions...	223,978	206,763	201,933
American Home Missionary Society...	175,971	178,060	193,548
American and Foreign Christian Union.	76,603	70,296	65,500
American Anti-Slavery Society.....	18,512	19,300	18,000
New York State Colonization Society...	15,624	32,278	18,993
American Female Guardian Society....	49,919	30,353	27,925
New York Sunday School Union.....	13,089	15,533	10,000
American Seamen's Friend Society....	25,236	27,520	22,283
Female Magdalen Society.....	2,926	6,545	5,000
Five Points House of Industry.....	17,981	22,274	30,000
Total.....	\$1,582,237	\$1,779,136	\$1,555,625

### THE AGRICULTURAL WEALTH OF CENTRAL AMERICA.

A CORRESPONDENT of the San Francisco (Cal.) Bulletin supplies the editor of that paper with a copy of a letter written by G. H. Foote, Esq., British consul at San Salvador, upon the resources of that republic. Mr. Foote has long resided in the State, and is engaged in raising cotton and coffee, as well as in attending to the interests of Great Britain. We extract that portion of the letter which relates to cotton growing:

"I am planting, according to my capital, slowly, and surely, both coffee and cotton. The cotton of this country is of a beautiful fibre, short staple, but as fine as silk. In no part of the world have I seen such a fine staple as that in a parcel grown near Izalco. My own small crop is not a bad specimen, although grown between my coffee trees. On some of the shrubs I counted ninety to one hundred bolls.

\* Nine months only of the present year.

"The climate is peculiarly adapted to cotton planting. We plant in August. From the time of planting until the boll is formed and ready to burst, we have warm, gentle showers, and only occasionally heavy ones; but having intervals of sun, the rains never drown or injure the plant. This continues until about the end of the month of November, when the rains cease altogether, the boll bursts, and the cotton shows itself—fine, white, and unsullied. Nature has done all for Central America—man, nothing as yet; but it is impossible that a country so blessed in climate and productiveness can remain much longer unknown to the world."

### SENSIBLE HINTS TO THE SOUTH.

A Virginia paper offers the following:

If the delegates to the Southern Convention will take note of a few particulars on their way, perhaps they may find food for reflection more valuable than has hitherto been submitted in resolutions and manifestoes.

They will start in some stage or railroad coach made in the North; an engine of Northern manufacture will take their train or boat along; at every meal they will sit down in Yankee chairs, to a Yankee table, spread with a Yankee cloth. With a Yankee spoon they will take from Yankee dishes sugar, salt, and coffee which have paid tribute to Yankee trade, and with Yankee knives and forks they will put into their mouths the only thing Southern they will get on the trip.

At night they will pull off a pair of Yankee boots with a Yankee boot-jack; and throwing a lot of Yankee toggery on a Yankee chair, lie down to dream of Southern independence, in a Yankee bed, with not even a thread of cotton around them that has not gone through a Yankee loom or come out of a Yankee shop.

In the morning they will get up to fix themselves by a 12 by 14 Yankee looking-glass, with a Yankee brush and comb, after perhaps washing off a little of the soil of the South from their faces, with water drawn in a Yankee bucket, and put in a Yankee pitcher, on a Yankee wash-stand, the partner in honorable exile with a lot of Yankee wares that make up the sum of the furniture.

Think of these things, gentlemen, and ask yourselves is there no remedy for this dependence? Ask yourselves if there be not some mode of action which will bring about a change and keep your cotton, your wheat, and your tobacco crops from going out of the South, to buy for you the things you must have to be up with the age!

Great steamships, and grand expansions, and magnificent speeches will do well enough, but there are little things, and a thousand of them, too, which might have a little attention, and perhaps lead to some small advantages. Could there not be some purpose, some real resolution to encourage not only by precept but by example a little home industry? Could you not buy sometimes a little Southern cotton goods without allowing them to go forward to the North, to get baptism into the true faith of Southern trade? Could you not induce the young maidens and matrons, who call you husbands and fathers, to look upon it as requisite to their principles, that country merchants should get their stocks in Southern ports, instead of turning up their noses at any thing that does not come direct from the fashionable haunts of New York, and Boston, and Philadelphia, and Baltimore, for Baltimore is as little Southern as any of them! Could you not induce your legislature to ameliorate the hard conditions they impose on trade, and think of some other mode of meeting the public necessities than by crippling it in its infancy and weakness, by heavy license laws and severe exactions? We beg you to think of these little things and do something.

## LATE SOUTHERN CONVENTION AT MONTGOMERY.

We have concluded to furnish the whole of the proceedings of the recent Southern Convention in the present number of the Review, contrary to our original intention. They will be found to embrace many very interesting debates. If the Convention did nothing else, it furnished the arena for some of the highest efforts of oratory ever before heard at the South. We regret that matters took the turn they did, on many accounts, but do not question, after all, that much good will result from the discussion. We have never known a more healthful Southern tone than that which seemed to pervade and move the very large delegations who were present. It argues well for the future. The proceedings are given as reported by the able and indefatigable press of Montgomery:

MONDAY, May 10, 1858.

On Monday, the 10th May, 1858, at 11½ o'clock, A. M., the delegates to the Southern Commercial Convention assembled in the new warehouse of the Montgomery and West Point Railroad Company.

At the hour of 12, M., WM. L. YANCEY called the Convention to order, and addressed them as follows:

*My Countrymen of the South:* At the request of the Mayor, and in behalf of the Mayor and the Authorities of the City of Montgomery, I bid you welcome to this city. I have denominated you my countrymen of the South, because you are Southern men, representing a Southern people, assembled on Southern soil, and for the purpose, strange to say, of endeavoring, by the wisdom of your suggestions, to counteract the unjust and deleterious influences of the system of national legislation which has for a half a century tended to depress your own section, and to elevate what I must call an antagonistic section of this estranged and divided land. [Applause.] Assembled for the purpose of rearing up and reinvigorating that commerce which, if not destroyed, has been greatly crippled by a discriminating system of navigation laws; assembled for the purpose of stimulating the general industry of the South, which has for years been rich enough to bear almost entirely the burdens of this Government, whether in war or in peace, while you have enjoyed but little of the legislative favor of this Government. I welcome you, my countrymen, as the representatives of a people who are proud, self-reliant, but just; ever regardless of *meum et tuum*, and who only ask to be permitted to enter upon the great industrial race of the whole world untrammelled, asking no favors, save that which you will snatch from fortune by your wisdom, your integrity, and your energy. I must be allowed, at least on my own behalf, to welcome you, too, as but the foreshadowing of that far more important body—important as you evidently will be—that, if injustice and wrong shall still continue to rule the hour and councils of the dominant section of this country, must, ere long, assemble upon Southern soil, for the purpose of devising some measures by which not only your industrial, but your social and your political relations shall be placed upon the basis of an independent sovereignty, which will have within itself a unity of climate, a unity of soil, a unity of production, and a unity of social relations—that unity which alone can be the basis of a successful and permanent government. [Renewed applause.]

I will not detain you longer by any crude remarks of my own. But as I have received through the Mayor of the city, a dispatch from Mr. De Bow, who was the President of the last Commercial Convention, that he has been detained by sickness, and will not, therefore, be here in time to open the Convention, I will request that you will now, by some motion, proceed to a temporary organization of the Convention. [The honorable gentleman then took his seat amid continued applause.]

Mr. HUBBARD, of Alabama, stated that he had been instructed by the Alabama delegation to move that Wm. L. Yancey continue to preside until a permanent organization of the Convention.

Mr. HUBBARD put the motion to the Convention, and it was unanimously agreed to.

On motion of Mr. BRIDGES, of Alabama, J. E. Burke, of the Daily Advertiser, Montgomery, was appointed Secretary *pro tem.* of the Convention.

Mr. HUBBARD moved that the respective delegations announce to the Chair two of their number to act as a Committee of Organization to select the permanent officers of the Convention. The motion was agreed to.

The Secretary *pro tem.* called the roll of States, to ascertain those represented here, and the following responded:

Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee.

It was stated that the State of Texas would be represented.

The CHAIRMAN announced the following persons as those designated for the Committee on Organization:—*South Carolina*—A. P. Calhoun, L. W. Spratt; *Mississippi*—Thos. H. Dunn, J. B. McRae; *Alabama*—T. B. Bethea, Percy Walker; *Florida*—John Beard, W. H. Chase; *Georgia*—John A. Steele, O. A. Lochrane; *Tennessee*—R. F. James, J. W. Bridges; *Louisiana*—Maunsel White, G. W. Munday; *Virginia*—James L. White, Charles Friend; *North Carolina*—Jesse H. Lindsay, (only one delegate present.)

The CHAIRMAN announced that when the Committee desired to retire for the purpose of consulting and acting, there were committee rooms prepared for that purpose.

On motion of Mr. HUBBARD, the Convention took a recess of half an hour, at 12½ o'clock, in order to allow the Committee time to act.

At about 1 o'clock, the Convention was again called to order.

The CHAIRMAN announced that the books proposed for the registry of names of delegates were now present, and any delegates who had not registered their names could now do so.

A delegate asked that the State of Delaware be called.

Mr. BRIDGES, of Ala., suggested that the State of Kansas be called. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN suggested that there might be difficulty in showing by record that there was such a State as Kansas.

Mr. COOPWOOD, of Mississippi, called upon the Hon. R. B. Rhett, of South Carolina, to address the Convention, which call was re-echoed from all parts of the hall.

Mr. RHETT said, that having come to the Convention with no intention of speaking at all, he would throw himself upon the indulgence of the Convention, and would be exceedingly gratified if they would allow him to remain silent. [Applause and cheers.]

Mr. CHASE, of Florida, on behalf of the Committee on Organization, made the following report:

The Committee on Organization have the honor to report the following named gentlemen for officers of this Convention, viz:

For President—A. P. Calhoun, of South Carolina.

For Vice Presidents—Hon. Mark A. Cooper of Georgia, George P. Elliott of South Carolina, G. W. Semple of Virginia, Jesse A. Lindsay of North Carolina, D. Campbell of Tennessee, C. T. Pollard of Alabama, Thomas Coopwood of Mississippi, Maunsel White of Louisiana, Paul McCormack of Florida.

Chief Secretary—P. D. Page, of Alabama.

Assistant Secretaries—D. H. Kirkwood of South Carolina, J. C. C. Blackman of Georgia, John L. Tindal of Mississippi, John L. Moses of Tennessee, Robert Jones of Virginia, Theodore O'Hance of Alabama, G. W. Munday of Louisiana, S. B. Todd of Florida.

On motion of Mr. JOHN A. JONES, of Georgia, the report was unanimously adopted.

On motion of C. M. JACKSON, of Alabama, the Chairman was authorized to appoint a committee of three to wait upon the President elect and conduct him to the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN appointed Messrs. C. M. Jackson of Alabama, P. H. Colquitt of Georgia, and Roger A. Pryor, of Virginia, said committee.

The committee performed the duty assigned them, and conducted the President elect to the Chair.

The President was received with cheers and applause, and addressed the Convention as follows:

*Gentlemen:* While I thank you most sincerely for the distinguished honor you have conferred upon me, I approach the duties you have imposed upon me with great distrust in my capacity to discharge them so as to fully meet your expectations. That there is now a unanimous feeling existing throughout the South upon the all-absorbing and vital questions of the day, none can deny. Since 1846, when I had the honor of being one of the delegates from this, my then adopted State, to the Memphis Convention, I have felt satisfied that the large collection of Southern energy and talent annually assembled in these conventions would, by interchange of thought and sentiment, effect a vast revolution by concentrating the sentiment of the South and giving unanimity of purpose to her distracted councils. [Applause.] If we could but unite the South to act with half the energy in defence of her rights that the people of the non-slaveholding States evince in attacking and subverting them, we would at once achieve independence within or without the Union. [Renewed applause.] But we are an agricultural people; we are disintegrated in our society; the ownership of slaves and the working of the soil necessarily effects it: but, nevertheless, it produces an independence in character which marks us among all people as a peculiar race.

We have now, for the first time, struck a chord in the great Southern heart, and a common pulsation is felt along the Atlantic and the Gulf States striking deep into the interior. We are now, for the first time, aroused to the fact that great causes have been patiently but unerringly at work that, from the formation of this Government to the present time, have weakened us socially, politically, agriculturally, and commercially; and intervening causes threaten the destruction of the social fabric of our society. It matters not what the area of the South or her dominant resources may be. Her natural position is to be powerful; but if we permit the power from the North to go farther than it has already gone, we cannot expect, it would be utterly idle for us to expect, that one jot of the power obtained by our foe would ever be yielded. It matters not what the motive might be—lust of power, jealousy, fanaticism—it is all the same to us. The slaveholder and his slaves, the slave States and their institutions, are the objects of their remorseless hatred. And now they claim the victory as having already been won, and that time will consummate all the rest they desire. Time, gentlemen, to us, is valuable. Let a common interest unite us; let us, as far as the reserved rights and powers of the States are concerned, develop every atom of our strength; the delegated powers to the General Government we must respect so long as we remain in this Union.

In conclusion, I beg leave to say that I shall come to this chair with no other desire than to fill it with impartiality, and I throw myself upon your kindness to excuse any errors I may commit. [The President resumed his seat amid continued applause.]

#### RULES OF THE CONVENTION.

Mr. BRECKENRIDGE, of Louisiana, submitted the following as the rules for the government of this Convention:

*Rule 1.* This Convention shall be governed by the rules of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, so far as they are applicable, and are not hereinafter modified.

*Rule 2.* All motions shall be made and recorded, and all votes taken by States, and each State shall cast its electoral vote; when any State is equally divided, its delegation may cast one-half of the vote each way.

The question was stated to be upon the adoption of the foregoing, and being taken, the Chair announced that they were adopted. Some discussion subsequently arose as to the effect of the rules adopted, but no definite action was taken by the Convention.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

Mr. CLANTON, of Alabama, moved that a committee of three be appointed to wait upon the various ministers in this place, and request their attendance here to open the proceedings of this Convention with prayer. After some discussion the resolution was adopted.

Mr. HARRIS, of Virginia, offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That a committee of three from each delegation be appointed by that delegation respectively, to report business for this Convention.

Mr. MUNDAY, of Louisiana, moved the following as a substitute:

*Resolved*, That a Committee on Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures be appointed, to be composed of one member from each State here represented, to be selected by the delegation of that State.

*Resolved*, That a Committee on Federal Relations be appointed, to be composed of one delegate from each State here represented, to be selected by the delegation from that State.

Mr. McCAA, of Alabama, moved to lay the substitute upon the table.

Upon this question, Mr. BRECKENRIDGE, on behalf of the Louisiana delegation, called for a scale vote; which being taken, resulted as follows:

*Ayes*—Virginia, 15; Georgia, 10; North Carolina, 10; South Carolina, 8; Mississippi, 7; Tennessee, 12; and Florida, 3—65.

*Nays*—Louisiana—6.

The motion to lay the substitute upon the table was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. BRIDGES, of Alabama, the Convention took a recess until 4 o'clock, P. M.

#### EVENING SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at 4 o'clock, by the President. The President announced, as the committee to invite the clergymen of this city to open the Convention with prayer, Messrs. Clanton, Hilliard, and Belser.

The PRESIDENT called upon the delegations for the names of their members of the Committee on Business, which was announced as follows:

#### COMMITTEE ON BUSINESS.

*Alabama*—Messrs. J. W. Portis, Columbus Lee, and John Cochran; *Florida*—John Beard, W. H. Chase, and D. W. Brevard; *South Carolina*—Isaac W. Hayne, A. D. Frederic, and Benj. W. Whaley; *Virginia*—L. E. Harvey, W. Ballard Preston, and Roger A. Pryor; *Georgia*—D. P. Hill, Albert Lamar, and H. M. Tift; *Mississippi*—Campbell, G. M. McElrath, and J. L. Tindal; *Louisiana*—J. D. B. De Bow, G. W. Munday, and John B. Breckenridge; *Tennessee*—R. F. James, J. W. Bridges, and John L. Moses; *North Carolina*—J. H. Lindsay.

Mr. HAYNE, of South Carolina, offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That all matters brought before this body be referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. HILLIARD, of Alabama, offered the following as a substitute:

*Resolved*, That every resolution offered in this Convention, shall be referred to the Committee on the Business of the Convention, before the resolution is acted upon.

Mr. DUPONT, of Florida, moved to amend the substitute by inserting after the word "referred" the words "without debate." After extended discussion, on motion of Mr. WARREN, of South Carolina, the substitute and amendment was laid upon the table, by the following vote:

*Yeas*—North Carolina, 10; South Carolina, 8; Georgia, 10; Alabama, 9; Mississippi, 7; Tennessee, 12—56.

*Nays*—Virginia, 15; Louisiana, 6; Florida, 3—24.

The question recurred upon the adoption of the original resolution.

Mr. DUPONT, of Florida, moved that the resolution be amended so as to require the reference without debate.

On motion of Mr. YANCEY, of Alabama, the amendment was laid upon the table.

Mr. HILL, of Georgia, moved to amend the resolution so that subjects may be referred to the committee, and not make the reference imperative.

On motion of Mr. YANCEY, of Alabama, the amendment was laid upon the table.

Mr. PRYOR, of Virginia, offered the following as a substitute:

*Resolved*, That every resolution offered in this Convention shall, before its adoption, be referred to the Committee on Business.

After discussion, on motion of PERCY WALKER, of Alabama, the whole subject was laid upon the table.

#### THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

Mr. L. W. SPRATT, of South Carolina, from the committee ordered by the last Convention "to collect facts bearing upon the re-opening of the African slave-trade, to be presented at the next session of the Convention," submitted the following report upon the subject, which he read to the Convention:

[For the report, see the leading article in the present number of the Review.]

Mr. PRYOR, of Virginia, stated that, although a member of the committee from whence this report purports to come, yet he had not yet seen fit, nor had he heard any of its arguments or conclusions until it was read to the Convention. He, therefore, hoped the Convention would indulge him by giving him an opportunity to prepare, and present to the Convention, the arguments founded upon considerations of high State policy, of eminently high Southern policy, which should forbid this Convention, which purports to represent the interests of the South, from embarking in so serious an enterprise as that of proclaiming before Christendom that they now intend to insist upon re-opening the trade in African slaves.

Mr. YANCEY, of Alabama, said he, also, was a member of the committee from which this report comes, and, from circumstances beyond his control, he had not seen it. But from what he had heard of it, as it was read, he was free to confess that he gave it his most hearty concurrence. There might be some things in it to which he could not give his assent. After further argument, the gentleman moved that the report be laid upon the table and printed.

Mr. ROBERT G. SCOTT, of Virginia, begged the Convention to pause for one night, at least, before they took any action upon it in any way. He moved that the Convention adjourn till to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

At the request of Mr. PRYOR, of Virginia, Mr. Scott withdrew the motion to adjourn.

Mr. PRYOR addressed the Convention at some length against the report, and in favor of allowing time to himself and others to examine the report, before they should be called upon to vote. In conclusion, he renewed the motion to adjourn until to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

The motion to adjourn was agreed to, and

The Convention accordingly—at a few minutes past 7 o'clock—adjourned till to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

#### SECOND DAY—MORNING SESSION.

TUESDAY, May 11, 1858.

The Convention was called to order by the President.

Prayer by Rev. Mr. Tichenor, of the Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama. The journal of yesterday was read, and, after sundry corrections, was approved.

Mr. JOHN A. JONES, of Georgia, moved to reconsider the vote by which the second rule was adopted on yesterday. The rule is as follows:

*Rule 2.* All motions shall be made and recorded, and all votes taken by States, and each State shall cast its electoral vote; when any State is equally divided, its delegation may cast one-half of the vote each way.

The motion to reconsider was agreed to.

Mr. JONES then moved the following as a substitute:

"All questions shall be decided by a *per capita* vote, unless some round member shall demand a scale vote, and then the question shall be decided by States."

The substitute was agreed to by the following vote:

*Yeas*—Virginia, 15; North Carolina, 10; South Carolina, 8; Georgia, 10; Alabama, 9; Mississippi, 7; Tennessee, 12; Florida, 3—74.

*Nays*—Louisiana, 6.

Mr. RUFFIN, of Virginia, from the committee appointed by the last Convention to prepare and report business for the action of this Convention, read a report, accompanied by sundry resolutions.

After some discussion as to the proper disposition for the Convention to make of the report and resolutions, they were referred to the Committee on Business.

WILLIAM WALKER AND JOHN MITCHELL.

Mr. F. B. SHEPHERD, of Alabama, said that it was well known that there was a distinguished foreigner—Gen. Wm. Walker, of Nicaragua—now present in this city. In accordance with custom, upon like occasions, he would submit the following resolution:

"Resolved, That Gen. William Walker, of Nicaragua, be invited to a seat upon the floor of this Convention."

Mr. WARREN, of South Carolina, moved to add the name of John Mitchell, the distinguished Irish patriot.

Mr. SHEPHERD accepted the amendment.

The resolution, as modified, was adopted.

On motion of Mr. SHEPHERD, the President of the Convention appointed Messrs. Shepherd, of Alabama; Warren, of South Carolina; and Chase, of Florida, a committee of three to wait upon those gentlemen and acquaint them with the action of the Convention.

A few minutes subsequently, Mr. WARREN, on behalf of the committee, appeared, and introduced the gentlemen to the President of the Convention, who welcomed them, and invited them to be seated among the delegates to the Convention.

#### AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

The PRESIDENT announced the business first in order before the Convention to be the report submitted yesterday by Mr. Spratt, of South Carolina; and that upon that question Mr. Pryor, of Virginia, was entitled to the floor.

Mr. PRYOR said, that at the very beginning of his remarks, he must be allowed to profess an unaffected reluctance thus to thrust himself forward in a discussion before a body containing so much of ability, talent, and virtue as this Convention. It would better become his incompetency rather to seek instruction from others here, than to presume to instruct or attempt to instruct them. But circumstances left him no alternative but either to acquiesce by his silence in the arguments and conclusions of the report before them, or, with whatever of ability he might possess, to protest against the policy therein embodied, and so far as he was able, to offer to the Convention the arguments by which he expected to sustain himself in his opposition to the report.

At the first blush he had been somewhat captivated with the idea of re-opening the African slave-trade. There was a tone and attitude of defiance congenial to his own ardent and impulsive spirit. But when we come gravely to propound the policy, he would submit that it is due to ourselves, to the cause we profess to seek to promote, the constituencies we here represent, to the great interests of Southern honor and Southern rights, that we should not be too precipitate; that we should not be influenced by the inconsiderate impulses of fancy or fanaticism, but rather consult the lights which Almighty God has given us, the light of reason, and be governed exclusively by high considerations of reason and State policy. He would respectfully submit that the conclusions and the policy arrived at by the gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Spratt,) in his report, were utterly repugnant to grave and sensible men, acting with a full sense of their responsibility to the present and to posterity.

In the great bulk of the argument in that report, he most heartily concurred. He would repudiate the idea that in occupying the position of resistance to the inauguration of this novel and most mischievous policy, he was governed by any consideration touching the alleged inhumanity of the slave-trade. On the contrary, if he could be convinced that the revival of the slave-trade would be conducive to the interests of the white population of the Southern States, he

would be impelled by every consideration of religion and humanity to advocate it, in order that the negroes of the wilds of Africa might be enabled to share with us the blessings of christianity and the advantages of civilization.

The honorable gentleman from South Carolina, said that the South needed more population, and, for that object, among others, he proposed the revival of the African slave-trade. He (Mr. Spratt) said that the South wanted this increase of population in order that the South could compete with the North in the race of political power, and thereby recover the equality and ascendancy that we have heretofore possessed. If that argument was good for anything, it proved that the South should import not negroes, who count but three-fifths, but white men, who count five-fifths in the representation; otherwise, even with this slave-trade, the North would have the advantage over the South in the proportion of five to three. So much for that.

For one, he, (Mr. Pryor,) was opposed to any more population in the South. Free republican government, in his judgment, was incompatible with a dense population. Republican government was to-day a failure in the North. When you amass men together, they become agrarian, their individuality and manhood are destroyed, and every power, physical and mental, is directed to an effort to clothe and feed himself and family. The hungry man, the naked man, must become either a slave or a demon. And among the causes to which the South was indebted for the welfare, strength, and power, to none was the South more indebted than to its sparseness of population. Mere population was not an element of real social and political strength.

It was argued that the South wanted more labor. Is the South in danger of losing the monopoly of the supply of cotton and the other semi-tropical products peculiar to slave labor? As the price of cotton rises, does the demand for it decrease? The argument of the report would imply that unless the production of cotton was increased, the manufacturing interests of the world must and will seek a supply elsewhere. But the experiment had been tried in India, in Algeria, and elsewhere, and has proved a most signal failure; for though they might compete with you in quantity they could not in quality. As to the statements of Dr. Livingston, who had thrown down the cross of Christ and taken up the black flag of Abolition, in his judgment, for fabulous statements and extraordinary adventures, his book surpasses the exploits even of that primitive traveler Mandeville. The South was not to be alarmed by any such absurd statements. She now has the monopoly, and the world could not wrest it from her. He (Mr. Pryor) would assert the proposition that the greatest possible minimum of labor employed in the production of cotton, realizes the greatest maximum of profit. If there was a competition here in our midst in the consumption of the raw material, it would be different. Every man in the South is simply and purely interested in high prices for cotton, not low prices. Therefore, it was manifestly to their interest that the minimum supply of labor should be employed in its production compatible with the existing relations of trade; and these relations are not likely to be disturbed by competition in the production of cotton elsewhere. The evil, above all others which the cotton producing States of this Confederacy have to apprehend, is the evil of a redundant supply of cotton. It was the saying of that shrewd old woman, Queen Elizabeth, who, though a female, had the spirit of a king, and a King of England, that an ungovernable beast should be stinted in his provender. And if we want to keep a curb in the mouth of the manufacturing interests of the world, we must not glut them to repletion.

But the great argument upon which the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Spratt) relies, the central thought of his report, the basis idea of his report, is, that in order to strengthen the institution of slavery, and give it permanency and stability, you must enlarge its basis. He assumes that there is a class of white citizens in the South disloyal to the institution of slavery. There may be such, emigres from the North, a part of that gregarious flock who have, *per force*, been driven here to obtain a subsistence. But he (Mr. P.) repudiated the idea that there was any large class of citizens in the South inimical to its institutions. He knew that among the non-slaveholders of Virginia—he knew not so much about the other States—there were some of the staunchest and most invincible champions of slavery. As to enlarging the basis of slavery, it

was enlarged enough already. We are all interested in it now, morally and pecuniarily. And it was a foul libel upon the citizens of the South to thus endorse what Greeley and Seward have been asserting so many years, that there are a class of poor white citizens in our midst inimical to our interests. If the charge be sounded to-day for the citizens of Virginia, Alabama, and the other States to rally to the defence of the South, there would be no recreant heart except, perhaps, some Yankee emigree. [Applause.] He contended that the South was a united people, and God grant that this question may not make us a disunited people. The gentleman assumes that none can be loyal to the institution of slavery unless he be pecuniarily interested in it. Yet he saw before him an Irish exile, to whom he was proud to pay the tribute of his admiration, who espoused the cause of our institutions long before he was pecuniarily interested in it. [Renewed applause.]

Now it was necessary to the great argument in the report, that the price of negroes should be so reduced that the possession of negroes should come within the means of the poorest of our population. He asked the planters of the Convention to consider this proposition. If the price of slaves be not reduced, the basis of slavery cannot be enlarged. The gentleman from South Carolina contends that these imported savages would take the fields, and what he styles the civilized black would take their places in our household. In Virginia the greatest curse of their domestic economy was that there was an excess of household labor. If that was not so here, just imagine the absurd figure your field hand would make in your parlor and kitchen. The gentleman also argues that the civilized negro might be employed in the mechanic arts. Now, however much the gentleman might say about the aptitude of the civilized negro to the mechanics arts, the fact was, that those arts were repugnant to the habits and nature of the negro. As a general thing, the negro is not skillful in the mechanic art. But, however that may be, it was not for our interest that our negroes should be so employed, because such employment would imply a certain degree of accomplishment and instruction, and gives the negro an opportunity for brooding and meditation, and the fermentation of discontent. The field is the proper sphere of the negro. And then the teaching of the negro the mechanics' arts brings him in direct conflict with the interests of the non-slaveholding white mechanics, which constitute a large portion of our non-slaveholding class of white mechanics.

He (Mr. Pryor) differed with the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Spratt) in his argument that the diffusion of slavery strengthened it. Diffusion is not strength; but, on the contrary, concentration is strength. It was not the opinion of Thomas Jefferson that diffusing slavery strengthened it. While he admired the genius and patriotism of Jefferson, he must at the same time confess, with humiliation and shame, that he was the most intelligent and efficient adversary of slavery that the world has ever produced. But he offered the Missouri restriction because, by using his own words, "by diffusing the institution of slavery you weakened it." Look at Missouri, where slavery is very much diffused, and then at South Carolina, where it is more concentrated than in any other State in this Confederacy, and then say where the institution of slavery has the most strength.

To place the negro slave within the possession of the poorest of our citizens, you must reduce the price of those already here. Is not that agrarianism? It is abolitionism in its worst form; for if you can, under any plea of interest and good to the community, reduce the price of the slave one-half or one-third, you can abolish it altogether. Will you cotton planters of the South consent to this? And how must this reduction take place? If the productive value of the slave remains the same, his value will remain the same, and the only way to reduce his price is to reduce his productive value. When cotton and other slave products are high, the price of slaves is high. The value of cotton now is about twelve cents a pound. The gentleman from South Carolina cited with admiration that cotton was only three cents a pound at one time. Are planters of the States of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and other States willing to have the price of cotton reduced to three cents a pound, in order that the "horizontal plane of democracy" shall have an opportunity to become pecuniarily interested in slavery? If the value of slave production is not reduced by the introduction of slaves from Africa, then slaves will be no more within the

reach of the poor white man than they are now. If it is reduced, then your present property will be reduced twenty, thirty, perhaps fifty per cent., with a corresponding reduction in the value of slave production.

The policy advocated in this report is and ought to be impracticable. We are committed by the action of our forefathers to give the Federal Government unconditional and absolute control over the African slave-trade. The gentleman from South Carolina cannot expect to get the Federal Government to open that trade. No sensible man here believes that that will ever be done, under any circumstances, for the North has complete control of the legislative and executive departments of the Government. Does the gentleman propose to open the trade by action of the several Southern States! That would be an act of bad faith, for we have agreed to the Constitution of this country, and as long as we remain in the Union we must uphold that constitution. It is what we require of others, and let us, like honorable men, do the same thing ourselves.

Another objection to the agitation of this subject is, that by committing ourselves to this policy we sacrifice our friends at the North, and the national Democratic party in the North. It was that Democratic party which effected an amelioration in the financial system of this Government; which redeemed the country from the oppression of a national bank; which has extended the area of the Union, by the acquisition of Florida, Texas, and California. His memories of that party appealed to his heart not rudely and ruthlessly to sacrifice it. There are members of that party in the North that he was unwilling to consign to irretrievable perdition and destruction, by imposing upon them a test they cannot be expected to stand. He would rather, in an excess of generosity and magnanimity, sacrifice some of his own feelings and rights, than to sacrifice those who have stood by us in our hour of need. It was utterly impossible for any Northern man, however faithful to the interests of the South, to advocate the revival of the African slave-trade. There were exceptional cases, anomalies in nature, *lusus nature*, like the editor of the Day Book, but he was but an exception. The gentleman from Alabama (Mr. Yancey) said yesterday—whether he intended it as a compliment or a reproach—said that the national Democratic party was the only ligament that united the North and South, and he was unwilling to sacrifice it.

This proposition, if endorsed, would shock the moral sentiment of Christendom. Some may say they do not care for that. But we of the South, who profess to be christians, should endeavor, if possible without sacrificing rights, to seek rather to propitiate the moral sentiment of Christendom. He was not willing to throw the gauntlet in the face of the christian world. He was very much governed by considerations of policy. And the sentiment of the christian world was gradually coming round to one stand-point.

Look at England with her Coolies, and France with her apprentices. The dispatch from our minister in France shows a gradual amelioration in sentiment upon this subject. We should bide our time, and not, by this public action, give our institution an irretrievable recoil. *Quia non movere*. Allow things to go along smoothly.

He objected to the introduction of a horde of barbarians from Africa among us. That was incompatible with the present status of slavery here. Ours is a patriarchal institution now, founded in pity and protection on the one side, and dependence and gratitude on the other. It would become under this policy like slavery in Cuba, where the master is forced to be cruel and stern in his government and control of slavery. It would create a new grade of slavery, and create in the slaves we already have a feeling of superiority that we should avoid.

In short, this proposition to revive the African slave-trade was purely and simply a proposition to dissolve the Union, because it cannot be carried out while the Union lasts. When that proposition is boldly and openly made, Virginia, though a border State, would not shrink from her duty. But Virginia was unwilling to put the perpetuity of this Union upon any such issue as this proposition to kidnap cannibals upon the coast of Congo, and contend with the King of Dahomey, in the marts of wild Africa, for the purchase of slaves there. If you intend dissolution, declare it boldly and manfully. [Applause.] Present

your proposition, with your preamble and resolutions, and we will meet you upon it, and either acquiesce and go with you heartily and zealously, or give our reasons for not doing so.

MR. JOHN A. JONES, of Georgia. Will the gentleman go, go now, to-day, for a dissolution of the Union? [Applause.]

MR. PRYOR. I am not going to take a position outside of the Union until I can go with a united South. Give me a case of oppression and tyranny sufficient to justify a dissolution of the Union, and give me a united South, and then I am willing to go out of the Union. [Applause.]

MR. JONES. If the gentleman waits for an undivided South he never will go out of the Union.

MR. PRYOR. I will not so stigmatize any State or any class of my fellow-citizens, by believing that when a case arises sufficient to justify a dissolution of the Union, any State of the South will stand back. In no crisis has the Old Dominion ever been recreant to her duty. When the ball of the Revolution was set in motion, in 1774, Virginia was not behind. When Jackson desired to send the federal troops to crush out South Carolina, Virginia was not recreant to her duty. [Applause.]

But recollect that the first onset, in case of revolution, must be met by Virginia; and gentlemen must not expect of her an inordinate enthusiasm that may be felt by others not situated as she is. But take my word for it, Virginia will not disparage the memory of her illustrious heroes, and abdicate the proud position she now occupies in the annals of our country. The true position of the South was the position of defence. We claim nothing but our rights, nothing more than our forefathers guaranteed to us, and, so help us God, Virginia will never take less than that. If there is to be a disseverance of the Union, let there be no disseverance of the South. Believe the border States true and loyal—recollect that suspicion begets resentment. Let us collect our energies for the final struggle, so that when it comes the entire South may precipitate herself upon the foe, like a thunderbolt from Heaven, with irresistible effect.

MR. YANCEY, of Alabama, obtained the floor. He said that he had, under the circumstances, considered it advisable to prepare a report embodying his views, which he would submit to the Convention.

MR. Y. then proceeded to read his report, which concluded with the following resolution:

*"Resolved, That the laws of Congress prohibiting the foreign slave-trade ought to be repealed."*

MR. Y. said that he supposed that the gist of the remarks of the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Pryor,) was to be found, like the important part of a lady's letter, in the postscript. He supposed the true reason for his opposition to the report of the committee, was to be found in the latter part of his speech, the effect it would have upon our friends at the North. God save us from such friends. Have their fidelity and friendship been exhibited in the recent passage of the conference bill concerning Kansas?

MR. PRYOR rose to a point of order, that the conference Kansas bill was not before the Convention, though he was ready to prove to the Convention that Clay, Davis, and Hunter have not sacrificed the interests of the South.

The PRESIDENT decided that it was in order to refer to that subject in reply to the arguments of the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Pryor.)

MR. YANCEY said he did not intend to discuss the Kansas bill, but merely to refer to it as evidence that whenever any sacrifice was made, the South made it. This eternal cry "how will it affect our friends at the North," embarrasses our action, and makes us cowards where we ought to be fearless and bold in defence of our native land.

The great distinction between the North and South is to be found in our peculiar institution. That distinction has divided churches, and broken that christian unity which the Savior of mankind inculcated upon his disciples; which has given rise to a discrimination upon our statute book from the foundation of this Government to this day, when the last instance of political and legislative subterfuge was found. No matter who voted for it or offered it. We are the sovereigns and do not belong to our representatives. No man admired the

almost entire South Carolina delegation more than he did; no man more admired the gallant and eloquent Clay, and the patriotic gentleman who represents his own district. But he was of the decided opinion that those gentlemen have been deceived by the political atmosphere in Washington; a film has been drawn over their eyes, and they have done a deed which will prove deeply injurious to the South. [Applause.] But he regretted that he could make no issue with the North. The conference bill was a Southern measure, a Southern wrong and injustice, committed under the influence of the Federal City. The great secret of that measure, which would be in time revealed, was that the coalition between Crittenden, Seward, and Douglas, upon the squatter sovereignty principle, was believed to have power to sweep away every Northern Democrat, and it was necessary to concoct some measure to take the wind out of their sails. This was done by an indirect acknowledgment of the squatter sovereignty principle, which Southern men do not dare openly to acknowledge. He did not believe the Northern Democracy needed our consideration. They were now elevated far above us; and if we have not been the hewers of wood and drawers of water for them, we have been beckoned to the lowest seats at the governmental table, and left to take the second course and gnaw the bones that Northern rapacity has left to us. They have power to protect themselves.

When governmental influence was found to be sufficient to unite a majority upon a measure which we fondly hoped would settle this question, one-half of our Northern allies were defeated at home, and their places filled by freesoilers. And when we came to gather the fruit of that measure, one-half of those left deserted us and tried to break down and cripple Southern rights. And yet we are told in a Southern convention, reflect, before you assert our undoubted right, upon the effect it will have upon our Northern allies. If we are never to give an open, manly, frank avowal of our constitutional position in the Union, or it is to depend upon a mere subterfuge, in regard to the meaning of which there are a half a dozen different opinions, then, unlike the gentleman from Virginia, he was for disunion now. [Applause.] He would shed his blood to save the Union as our fathers left it, but not the Union which has been reared upon its ruins. The Union of our fathers has already been dissolved by oppression and fraud, and there was no drop of blood in his heart that he was not ready to shed in defense of Southern rights against that Union. [Applause.]

He did not love every section of his country equally. A man who knew no North, South, East, or West, but was for the Union, was for the spoils without reference to the rights of the people. His—the speaker's—first love was for those nearest to him; if he had any left, then it was for his neighbor, whom he was directed to love as himself, and he would try to do so, if he would permit him. When justice is done to ourselves, our next care should be to see that we did no injustice to others.

What was the measure recommended to the Convention? The repeal of a law which discriminates against the labor of the South. Is there an Alabamian here who does not endorse that sentiment? Is there a Virginian here who does not endorse it? The General Government has no right to discriminate against us. The Constitution does not authorize it. It says, "Congress shall enact no law prohibiting the emigration or importation of such persons as the States now allow, before the year 1808." That very clause was a constitutional guarantee of slavery and the slave-trade, because it forbid Congress to interfere with it before 1808. In 1807 a law was passed that after 1808 no slaves should be imported into this Union, which law was unconstitutional in its discrimination against the South. The South was allowed a representative for three-fifths of their slaves, for their property, which was in favor of the South as the North had no representative allowed for their property.

This abolition idea was not a new one in 1807. We are indebted to Virginia for the conception of that idea, whatever her position now. Thomas Jefferson, fresh from the great field of the French revolution, where the ideas of liberty had run into what we now call red republicanism, the idea that the black was equal to the white man, spread that idea in Virginia, and from him it was transmitted to father and son, and even in Virginia is not now quite uprooted, for in no other Southern State could Eli Thayer establish his abolition colony. In 1807 these ideas prevailed in Virginia, and this law was passed making the

importation of slaves a misdemeanor. Was not that a violation of the spirit, if not the letter of the Constitution? What became of our equality when that law was passed, prohibiting us from importing our labor, while the North was left free to import theirs? A preponderance was given to the white labor of the North emigrating from Europe, while our labor was not to be increased except from its natural increase.

The gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Spratt,) in his report, advances the idea that if slavery is right, every just measure to its formation must inevitably be right. If it is right that the institution of slavery shall be incorporated in the constitutional basis of this country, it is right that the South should secure and enlarge its basis of labor, as much as it is right for the North to enlarge its basis of labor by emigration of laborers from Europe. The only difference is, that the one labor came under the head of importation, the other under the head of immigration; the one was black labor, the other was white. The law of 1807 discriminated against Southern labor, and in favor of Northern labor. That law was unconstitutional. The argument was made by Northern men, that when the Constitution said that no law should be passed of the kind before 1808, it followed, as a matter of course, that Congress had the right to pass the law after that time. But it is a principle of construction, that in construing the meaning of the constitution, you shall not destroy any of its plain and palpable principles. One principle of the Constitution, was the equality in the Union of Southern States with Northern States; which equality this law destroyed.

The gentleman said that he held in his hand a suggestion from a friend from Georgia. "If it is right to raise slaves for sale, is it not right to import them?" He would put this question to the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Pryor.) Suppose a captain from New Orleans were to ask the gentleman from Virginia if it was lawful for him to buy slaves and take them to New Orleans. The answer would be that it was lawful, provided he did not buy them in Cuba, Brazil, or Africa. The captain would ask, where shall I buy them? The gentleman, actuated by that principle of interest which governs all mankind, would naturally tell him to come to Richmond, and buy his slaves there. Now, if it is right to buy slaves in Virginia and carry them to New Orleans, why is it not right to buy them in Cuba, Brazil, or Africa, and carry them there? The gentleman will say there is nothing wrong in that morally, but he would point to the federal statistics, which discriminate in favor of Virginia and against Cuba, Brazil, and Africa, preventing the captain from buying his slaves where he could obtain them cheapest. South Carolina has her peculiar notions of free trade, and at one time her State bristled with arms in support of her right to buy sugar in Cuba instead of Louisiana. And yet, she is now compelled to buy slaves in Virginia instead of Cuba, Brazil, or Africa.

In 1807 the slave-trade was declared a misdemeanor. In 1820 it was declared piracy. And yet we must not demand the repeal of these discriminating laws for fear we may offend our Northern allies, and perchance defeat some aspirant for the Presidency. The gentleman from Virginia refers to the opinions of Christendom upon this subject—they are rather the opinions of devildom.

The great advocates of what is called Christendom have met in convention in the Northern States and voted if the Bible recognized slavery, it was the work of the devil rather than of God. And New England male and female teachers and parents have endeavored to impress upon the minds of the youth there that God himself should be dethroned if he recognized African slavery.

Now, if it is not wrong to hold slaves, and to buy them and sell them, it is right in morals, and under the Constitution which guarantees the institution, that we should buy them in whatever place we may choose to select. He did not wish to be compelled to go to Virginia and buy slaves for \$1,500 each, when he could get them in Cuba for \$600, or upon the coast of Guinea for one-sixth of that sum.

What has been the effect of this discrimination against the South? Our labor has increased from one million of slaves at the revolution to four millions. The North has had an average annual immigration of 350,000, and sometimes the immigration has reached 600,000 a year. They have been enabled to colo-

nize our common territory, and now number *sixteen* States to our *fifteen*. And the great leader of freesoildom in the Senate of the United States, told us the other day that they would have *nineteen* States to our *fifteen*. In consequence of these discriminating laws, we are prohibited from populating the territory of this country, though it belong to us all in common.

It was not proposed to re-establish the slave-trade, but to place that question where every other question of trade should be placed, subject to the principles of supply and demand. It was simply proposed to wipe out from our statute books the mark of Cain which has been placed upon our institutions, that we may stand in this Government as equals.

Without concluding, the gentleman gave way to—

Mr. HUBBARD, of Alabama; who moved that the Convention take a recess untill 4 o'clock.

The motion for a recess was agreed to.

#### — EVENING SESSION.

At 4 o'clock the Convention was called to order by the President.

Mr. YANCEY resumed his speech. He said that, in the morning, he had confined himself to that line of argument that he considered as particularly applicable to the resolution embodied in the report he had had the honor to submit to the Convention.

There were differences of opinion among Southern men as to whether the slave-trade ought to be re-established. His resolution avoided those differences of opinion, by merely proposing to repeal the discriminating laws which had passed against the South. The slave-trade would be left where the Constitution left it, to be governed by the law of supply and demand.

The gentleman from Virginia argued that, if the slave-trade was re-opened, it would depreciate the price of our present slave labor, depreciate the price of land, and come in conflict with the interest of our poor white population. In reply to that, he would say, that if that was true, then those who had negroes or land to sell, and were interested in keeping up high prices, would not embark in this trade, and the poor white man would not encourage it. That market would be governed precisely as the horse, mule, corn, and cotton markets are now governed: by the law of supply and demand. But it was a mistaken idea to suppose that the price of the slave would be depreciated, for their price depends upon other causes. But the gentleman was mistaken in supposing that it was the interest of Southern planters to keep up the high prices of slaves. It was their interest to obtain their labor cheaply, because they want to raise their produce cheaply. It is the price of their produce that interests them. Speculators, and those who want to sell negroes, want to keep up the price. There was no danger that the price of cotton would be depreciated; more was produced now than ever before, and yet cotton raising was never before so profitable.

The gentleman argued that sparseness of population was strength. The natural deduction from that was, that we should go to work and export all our negroes, except the smallest possible number, and also our white men, in order to make the highest point of prosperity. The argument proved itself to be absurd.

The gentleman also says that the less we produce, the greater the profit. Then instead of producing four millions of bags of cotton, which we now do, we should reduce the production to say one bag.

As to the reduction in the value of land, by the re-opening of the slave-trade, he would ask why the land in the South, though as rich and fertile as any in the world, brought less in the market than the comparatively sterile lands of New England and New York? It was because the South lacked the supply of labor necessary to cultivate her land, while in the North the land was not enough for the supply of labor.

There is no amount of ingenious reasoning, no clap-trap of words, no trick in language, that can do away with the great law, that if you increase the number

of slave-owners, you increase the basis of the institution. There is no denying that there is a large emancipating interest in Virginia and Kentucky, and Maryland and Missouri, the fruits of which we see in Henry Winter Davis, Cassius M. Clay, and Thomas H. Benton. We need to strengthen this institution; and how better can we do that than by showing the non-slaveholding class of our citizens that they can buy a negro for \$200, which, in a few years, by his care and instruction, will become worth a thousand dollars? Teach the poor white man, who cannot now buy a negro, that by this means he can buy one, you secure him to the interests of the South.

But it is said to us—*cui bono?* What good in this? The North has the power, and will not repeal these laws. That is no reason why we should not resist. Nations should be actuated by the same high sense of honor as individuals. If a man spits in my face, I will strike him, though he may thrash me. I know we cannot wrest this justice from the dominant North. They have fastened the shackles upon us, and will not loose them. But let us stand up and resist them like men. If the principle of submission is to sway the councils of the South, it will not be long before will be fulfilled the boast of Seward, that the whole American continent would soon be under the flag of this Union, and there would not be upon it the foot of a slave. He is a calm, cool man, not given to imaginative speculation, but he spoke this in the fulness of his heart as what he believed. He said this when goaded by his thick-headed associate, Hale, for voting for the increase of the army, which he expected to command himself, in 1860, that he had not designed us to get a glimpse of.

There are elements entering into the opinions of gentlemen upon this question that ought not to enter here—elements of national party, opinions of Christendom, &c. Public sentiment needs some corrective upon this subject; and that corrective can only be made by directing the public attention to this subject. We can agitate our wrongs; we have no rights I fear to agitate; we can agitate our injuries; we have no favors to talk about.

We are told that we should not assert the rights of the South upon this issue. Will the gentleman from Virginia say what is the issue upon which the South should contest their rights?

Mr. PAXON said he was not willing to assert the rights of the South upon the proposition to kidnap cannibals from Africa, or buy slaves of the King of Dahomey. But should a Black Republican President be installed in the executive chair in Washington, and the power of the Government be palpably in his hands, whenever the gentleman can satisfy the intelligence of the people of the South, in sufficient numbers to justify the movement, then he was willing to make the issue, and he could pledge Virginia not to be behind Alabama. And he would say further, that when the issue was presented, and he was convinced that a majority even of the people of Alabama were, upon mature consideration, willing to leave the Union, they of Virginia would be ready to go with them. [Applause.]

Mr. YANCEY said he was unfeignedly happy that he had been able to draw from the gentleman from Virginia such a declaration. This morning he was for a united South; now, he would join with Alabama alone. The speaker had great hopes in agitating this question; he trusted that the attention of the people of the South would be aroused to the assertion of their rights. If this demand should be refused by the North, it would be one other evidence that injustice is the ruling spirit of the hour in our national legislature. There would be one link more between Southern men—one link more snapped between Southern men and Northern men.

It is folly to talk about a united South—but a trick of words to damp the enthusiasm of our people. He referred to the Roman patriot, who leaped into the chasm to save his country, and asked if there were more in our midst ready to make the sacrifice.

He did not design what he had said to be taken as mere declamation. He fully and earnestly meant all he had said. He had reflected upon these matters much and deeply, and believed that the representatives of the Southern States had effectually mistaken the minds of the people of the South. The

people of the South had expected that their representatives would have been with them, and were thunderstruck when they had found that it was not so.

Let us look no longer to the North for assistance. Let us turn our faces to the South. Are you ready, countrymen! is your courage up to the highest point! have you prepared yourselves to enter upon the great field of self-denial as your fathers did, and undergo, if necessary, another seven years' war, in order that you and your posterity may enjoy the blessings of liberty! If you are, I am with you; if you are not, I am not with you. [The gentleman concluded amid loud and continued applause.]

Mr. EDMUND RUFFIN, of Virginia, replied, at some length, to the remarks of Mr. Yancey, that Virginia was influenced by motives of interest in regard to this question. He declared that ninety-nine out of one hundred slaveholders in Virginia desired to retain their slaves, and but few sold them, except when compelled by necessity to do so. As for himself, he wished that all the slaves that had been sold out of Virginia for the last thirty years, with their posterity, were back in the State again. As to the report of the committee, he was opposed to it as a practical question.

Mr. GASKELL, of Georgia, argued at some length in favor of the expediency and practicability of the re-opening of the slave-trade.

Mr. R. S. SCOTT, of Alabama, then obtained the floor, but gave way to

Mr. BELSER, of Alabama; who moved that the further consideration of the subject be postponed until to-morrow morning, at 9 o'clock.

The motion to postpone was agreed to.

Sundry resolutions, in relation to matters to be acted upon by the Convention, were then offered by Messrs. Scott, of Alabama; Tift, of Georgia; Hayne, of South Carolina; Tharin, of Alabama; Featherstone, of Georgia; and Mun-  
day, of Louisiana; and referred to the Committee on Business.

On motion of Mr. PENICK, of Alabama, at a few minutes before 7, o'clock,

The Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, at 9 o'clock.

### THIRD DAY—MORNING SESSION.

WEDNESDAY, May 12, 1853.

The Convention was called to order at 9 o'clock, by the President.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Petrie, of the Presbyterian church, of this city.

The journal of yesterday was read and approved.

Mr. FAYOR, of Virginia, rose to a personal explanation. He said his remarks of yesterday, in reply to an interrogatory of Mr. Yancey, as to what Virginia would consider a sufficient cause for disunion, had been misunderstood. He did not mean that Virginia would ever abdicate the prerogative of considering her own position. She, and she alone, must be the judge of the occasion that requires her to vindicate her rights and redress her wrongs. She never would put her honor in commission, or assert her rights by proxy. What he had intended to say yesterday was that he did not suppose that Alabama would undertake to leave the Union without such sufficient cause as would justify every other Southern State in the Confederacy from following her.

Mr. STEELE, of Georgia, offered resolutions, which were referred to the Committee on Business without being read.

Mr. JONES, of Georgia, also offered a preamble and resolution, which were referred, without reading, to the Committee on Business. [The preamble sets forth at length the wrongs inflicted upon the South.] The resolution is as follows:

*Resolved*, That we recommend to the governors of the Southern States, or such of them as think with us, to call on the people of their respective States to elect delegates, equal to their representation in Congress, to meet in convention at ———, on the first Monday in ———, to take into consideration the present critical position of the South, and the dangers that threaten her in the future, and to endeavor to devise, if possible, effectual safeguards for her future security and equality in the Union; or, failing in that, to go out of it.

Subsequently, Mr. PRYOR, of Virginia, moved to reconsider the vote by which that resolution was referred to the Business Committee.

The PRESIDENT decided that the motion to reconsider could not be made until to-morrow, but that the gentleman from Virginia could give notice of his intention to make such a motion to-morrow.

Mr. PRYOR appealed from the decision of the Chair.

The question was stated to be: "Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of this Convention?"

The question being taken by States, resulted as follows:

*Yeas*—Georgia, 10; South Carolina, 8; North Carolina, 10; Mississippi, 7; Louisiana, 6; Texas, 4; and Alabama, 9—54

*Nays*—Virginia, 15; Tennessee, 12; and Florida, 3—30.

The decision of the Chair was sustained.

Mr. PRYOR announced that to-morrow he would move to reconsider.

Mr. COCHRANE, of Alabama, from the Committee of Business, reported resolutions recommending night sessions of the Convention, for discussion only; providing for a regular calendar of business of the Convention; and calling upon delegates for contributions of two dollars each, to pay the printing and other expenses of the Convention.

The resolutions were agreed to.

Mr. BRECKENRIDGE, of Louisiana, from the same committee, made an adverse report upon certain resolutions offered by Mr. Scott, of Alabama, on yesterday, in relation to the encouragement of Southern manufactures and steam navigation; also, in favor of some resolutions offered by the same gentleman, giving the thanks of this Convention to Hon. Wm. Ballard Preston, of Virginia, for his efforts for the promotion of Southern interests.

The report was received and adopted.

Mr. DE BOW, of Louisiana, presented to the Convention a letter from Hon. W. W. Boyce, of South Carolina, appointed at the last session of the Convention upon a committee upon the subject of direct taxation, containing his views upon the subject.

Upon motion of Mr. HILLIARD of Alabama, the letter was received, laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.

#### AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

The Convention resumed the consideration of the subject of the re-opening of the African slave-trade.

Mr. ROBERT G. SCOTT, of Alabama, was entitled to the floor. He commenced by giving notice that, at the proper time, he would move, as a substitute for the resolutions reported from the Committee by Mr. Spratt of South Carolina, the following resolution, which embodied his views, though it was drawn up by a gentleman from Georgia.

*Resolved*, That it is inexpedient for this Convention to take any action upon the subject of re-opening the foreign African slave-trade, either by recommending a repeal of the existing laws, or otherwise."

Mr. S. said that he came forward to take his humble part in the discussion of the grave question that deplorably divides this Convention, with a profound sense of gratitude for the indulgence the Convention had granted to him by adjourning last evening, because he thought that what he should say now would be very different from what he might have said on yesterday. One night of calm reflection and deliberation, of reviewing the whole ground of this matter, had taught him the lesson that what he should say to the Convention should be said in the spirit of peace, brotherly love, and affection, and designed to heal the wounds which the past debate had inflicted, he feared, upon the cause of the South. He had thought that this body had been constituted for a very different purpose from that for which it seemed to him it had been used. It would seem that this Convention had been converted into a political debating club, to discuss questions that our constituencies never designed us to consider. The people of Monroe county never would have commanded him to come here to strike down our friends who, through good and evil report, have stood up for our interests and rights.

He referred to the fact that ten years ago, Virginia, seeing that the South had lost all her import trade, and a portion of her export trade, had originated the movement for a Southern Commercial Convention, to devise means by which that trade would be restored. He said that many wise and judicious measures had been recommended by the conventions which had assembled. But the South needed unity and strength for 1860, when our adversaries of the North would triumph by putting in power Seward and his followers. Was the South ready for him! [Cries of "Yea."]

Mr. HUBBARD, of Alabama. As ready as we ever will be.

Mr. SCOTT. And the honored old State of Virginia will not be behind any other State in the South. He wanted the South to espouse as her cause of complaint and resistance something that would not divide her, but upon which she could stand united before the world. He did not desire her resistance to be based upon mere side issues like this of the African slave-trade, one of mere dollars and cents, but upon a great question of principle.

Mr. YANCEY, of Alabama, said he had no desire to make this question an issue of disunion.

Mr. SCOTT replied that the gentleman had said he would argue this as another evidence of the wrongs done the South. As for himself he thought there were other grounds, and good grounds, upon which the South would be united, and he deprecated the raising this question, in regard to which every observant man could see that there was a division. He implored the Convention to pause before they perilled the cause of the South by taking one further step in this matter, when the gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. Yancey,) who argued the matter so ably, acknowledges that he does not expect to succeed. It was now eighteen months since this question had been agitated, and not one primary meeting of the people of the South had endorsed it; not one State of the South through her legislature had taken any action upon the subject, except South Carolina.

Mr. HAYNE, of South Carolina, said that, in relation to what South Carolina had done, he would state that the Governor of that State had called the attention of the Legislature to this matter at the session before the last; a committee had been raised to report at the last session; majority and minority reports had been made, which were laid upon the table, and had never been taken up for consideration.

Mr. SCOTT said that there had been nothing done by the States, as States, in the matter, nor by the people of the States. He referred to the bringing the late settlement of the Kansas question into this discussion. He thought the gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. Yancey,) in the heat and ardor of debate, had done great injustice to those of the South and our friends of the North who had voted for it, by condemning their action without allowing them a chance to be heard. He had no wish to condemn unheard, such friends of the South as Buchanan, Dickinson, Toucey, Bright, Fitch, and Bigler, who had risked all of political honor and advancement to uphold the rights of the South.

Even old Virginia was suspected. The gentleman proceeded at some length to defend Virginia, and referred to her action in 1832, when, though she thought South Carolina wrong, Virginia was the only State of the South that treated her as a nation; and that the only vote given in the Senate against the force bill asked by Jackson, was given by John Tyler, of Virginia.

Mr. YANCEY. And Virginia has repudiated John Tyler ever since.

Mr. SCOTT. She has taken him again to her bosom, and he is now one of her most honored and cherished sons. Three days after he gave the vote against that force bill, Virginia elected him to the United States Senate. He referred to the action of Virginia in refusing to let the federal troops cross the State to go to South Carolina.

The gentleman then proceeded to reply to the argument of Mr. Yancey, that the laws prohibiting the African slave-trade were unconstitutional. He contended that the power granted to Congress to regulate commerce with foreign nations, gave them power to regulate the African slave-trade; and the clause in the Constitution referred to by Mr. Yancey, merely restricted them from exercising that power before 1808, expressly conceding to Congress the power

to do so after that time. Such had been the opinion of the framers of the Constitution; such the opinion of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, and also of John C. Calhoun, who was a member of Monroe's Cabinet when the act of 1820 was passed, declaring the slave-trade to be piracy.

Mr. HILLIARD, of Alabama, proceeded to address the Convention against the report, and the question which he considered had been most inopportunistly brought forward. He had never yet counselled the South to yield any of her rights or sacrifice her honor, nor to count the cost of maintaining her honor and her integrity. But he did not think that the South now held any very degraded or inferior position in the General Government. He considered the South to-day as the peer of the North in all that constitutes the elements of a great State. He was not prepared to go for a dissolution now upon existing causes, and upon mere abstractions and questions of doubtful policy. He believed that the time had come, however, when the South must resist all aggression upon her institutions, or give them up; and he believed that she would do so. He believed when there should be made or attempted a palpable infringement of the rights of the South, she would be united in her resistance. He admitted that there had been improper legislation, and that South Carolina was right in the stand she took, and he believed she had brought the General Government back again to the right track; and he preferred to-day, if we could bring the Government to the right track, and preserve the integrity of the Constitution, to remain in the Union, and preserve our rights there. He thought the present indications were such as to lead us to believe that such will be the case. He alluded to the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case—to the known opinions of the present Chief Magistrate as evidence. And he said that he believed if the case should be carried to the Supreme Court, the decision would be that slaveholders have the constitutional right to pass through any State in this Union with his slaves. He thought the progress of this Government was onward in the right direction and not backward. He thought there would be a disposition on the part of the North now to yield us all our rights. And he was not for disunion upon the present issues with the Federal Government.

The true conservative position of the South now is, to admit everything we have conceded in the constitution, but insist upon every right that the Constitution guarantees to us. Legislation in regard to the African slave-trade had been conceded in the Constitution. The only restriction upon that power was, that it should not be exercised by Congress before 1808. He read extracts from Elliott's Debates to show that the framers of the Constitution, Mr. Madison among the number, were clearly of the opinion that the Constitution, by the clause conferring upon Congress power to regulate foreign commerce, gave to Congress power to pass laws for the prohibition of the African slave-trade.

At a few minutes past one o'clock the gentleman gave way to

Mr. LAFSLEY, of Alabama, upon whose motion

The Convention took a recess until four o'clock.

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#### EVENING SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at four o'clock by the President.

Mr. HILLIARD resumed his speech. He proceeded to read further extracts from Elliott's Debates, showing the opinions of the framers of the Constitution concerning the power of Congress to pass laws prohibiting the African slave-trade. He contended that those laws were constitutional, though he would not say they were judicious. Various Democratic administrations and cabinets had considered those laws constitutional, and had approved them.

As to the expediency of adopting the report of the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Spratt) upon the question of re-opening the African slave trade, he thought it was not expedient at this time to ask Congress to repeal those laws. The South has complained of the agitation of the question of slavery by the North. He himself had never been willing to argue even the moral aspect of slavery in Congress, because it would lead to agitation. So the proposition

before the Convention, if adopted, would be an invitation to every fanatic, to every one opposed to the institutions of the South, to agitate with a view to overthrowing those institutions. He was opposed to adopting a policy here which its most earnest advocates admit to be entirely impracticable.

But suppose it was practicable to re-open the African slave-trade, what would be the result here in the South? It would make the Southern States the great slave-market of the world, and would introduce here a horde of wild barbarians, whom the gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Spratt,) in his own report, characterizes as devils, who have no knowledge of God. He thought it would be unwise to introduce these wild barbarians in our midst, though they might themselves be benefitted by being brought in contact with the highest form of Christian civilization the world ever saw. It would be spreading over the South a teeming population of barbarians, in such numbers as must inevitably renew here the scenes of St. Domingo and Hayti.

He thought that there were slaves enough here now in proportion to the white population, and the black race increase naturally far more rapidly than the white man.

Another objection he had to the re-opening of the African slave-trade, even if it were practicable, was that it would depreciate the value of cotton. Increase the means of producing cotton, and increase the supply, and you necessarily must depreciate the price of cotton. Any thing affecting the probable supply of cotton produced a corresponding effect upon its price in the markets of the world. The recent overflow of the cotton fields and plantations in the valley of the Mississippi, had raised the price of cotton in England. The merchant princes of Florence had discovered that by limiting the supply of silk they could increase the price; that they could even burn one-half of their stock, and then sell the remaining half for more than they could have obtained for the whole. Increase the supply of cotton to the extent contemplated by this measure, and instead of being king, as it is now called, cotton would go begging in the markets of the world for any price that purchasers might see fit to offer for it.

He had no desire to outrage the moral sentiment of Christendom upon an impracticability. While he would not yield up one right of the South to the demand of Christendom, he still had great respect for the opinions of the christian world. He would not outrage it, but would rather seek to obtain its support and approval. And from recent indications in England and France, he believed a change was being wrought in the opinion of the civilized world in relation to this question of slavery. Even in this country a great change was going on. Look at the repeal of the Missouri restriction, the late decision of the Supreme Court, and the election of our present Chief Magistrate by the power of the South. And yet it was proposed now to risk all we have thus gained by defying Christendom in the revival of the African slave-trade.

He was not for asking any favors of the General Government at any time for the South. It had been said that the Federal Government does nothing for the South and all for the North; and the aid given to Northern lines of steamships had been cited as evidence of that assertion. His attention had been called to a paragraph under the telegraphic head in the morning papers, to the effect that the policy of the Government was to be changed hereafter in that respect—that both sections of the country were to be left upon the same footing in that respect.

As for the fears expressed by gentlemen here, that the North will triumph hereafter over the South, he could not join with them. Now that the South was fully aroused, he thought she would be able to defeat the North in the future. He thought the aspect of affairs at present was hopeful, and with the present prospect he was not prepared to-day to abandon the Union for existing causes of complaint. But he would say that in his judgment the election of a Black Republican to the Presidency would result in the subversion of the Government. The people of the South would not wait to see him clothed with the insignia of office—would not wait for any overt act—the end will then have come. But he did not desire to see the South divided upon such a question as this; we are now one people—a united people. Let us remain in the

Union, one and undivided, or let us go out of it, if go we must, a united people.

Mr. PRYOR, of Virginia, obtained the floor and moved the indefinite postponement of the whole subject. He said he would not submit the motion to lay on the table as that would cut off debate. But he wanted to so change the condition of the question as to have the vote first taken upon the indefinite postponement.

Mr. PRESTON, of Virginia, obtained the floor, but said he desired merely to obtain the privilege of addressing the Convention to-morrow upon this question.

Mr. McRAE, of Mississippi, briefly advocated the report of the committee.

On motion of Mr. YANCEY, it was ordered that when the Convention adjourns, it be until to-night at half-past seven o'clock.

On motion of Mr. PERCY WALKER, of Alabama, at a few minutes past six o'clock,

The convention took a recess until half-past seven o'clock to-night.

#### NIGHT SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at half-past seven o'clock by the President.

Mr. MARK A. COOPER, of Georgia, was called to the chair by the President.

Mr. HARPER, of Alabama, and Mr. HUNTER, of Georgia, addressed the Convention at considerable length in opposition to the report of the committee upon the African slave-trade.

Mr. HUBBARD, of Alabama, addressed the Convention in favor of the proposition of Mr. Yancey, recommending the repeal of existing laws prohibiting the foreign slave-trade.

On motion of Mr. TODD, of Florida, at 11 o'clock, the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock.

#### FOURTH DAY—MORNING SESSION.

THURSDAY, May 13, 1858.

The Convention was called to order at fifteen minutes to 10 o'clock, by the President.

The journal of yesterday was read and approved.

On motion of Mr. COCHRANE, of Alabama, leave was granted to the Committee on Business to sit during the session of the Convention.

Mr. PRYOR, of Virginia, from the Committee on Business, reported back the resolution of Mr. Jones, of Georgia, referred on yesterday, in relation to the calling a Southern Convention to the continuance of this Union. The committee report that they consider it inexpedient for this Convention to act upon this resolution.

Mr. PRYOR, also, reported back, from the same committee, resolutions referred, on motion of Mr. Percy Walker, of Alabama, in reference to Americanizing Central America, recommending their adoption by Central America.

On motion of Mr. WALKER, the latter resolutions were made the first special order after the present order shall have been disposed of.

The President laid before the Convention various papers, which were referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. DE BOW, from the Committee on Business, to which had been referred resolutions in reference to retaliatory legislation against the Northern States, made a report that, in the opinion of the committee, action upon those resolutions would be inappropriate.

#### AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

The Convention resumed the consideration of the special order, being the subject of the African slave-trade.

The pending question was upon the motion of Mr. Pryor, to indefinitely postpone the whole subject.

Mr. PRESTON, of Virginia, was entitled to the floor, and proceeded to address the Convention.

After briefly stating what he had understood to be the objects of this Convention, he said that the report of the chairman of the committee (Mr. Spratt) advocated the re-opening of the African slave-trade. The report of the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. Yancey) recommended the repeal of the laws prohibiting the African slave-trade, on the ground of the unconstitutionality of those laws. He differed from the report of the gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Spratt,) essentially and fundamentally. That report declares that the great wants of the South are labor, slaves, territory, and federal power and supremacy. The speaker considered that the great wants of the South, which above all others was necessary to her maintenance, perchance to her very existence, was union and harmony in council, and concert in action; and it would show great want of judgment to adopt any course which should impair that harmony and concert. And the issue presented by this report must inevitably result in a division of the sentiment among the people of the South.

In regard to the constitutionality of the laws sought to be repealed, he would ask the Convention, if they would not be compelled to go with him against this policy, if he should succeed in showing to them that these laws were constitutional? The doctrine of the States-rights school was to uphold the Constitution, and not from any motive of interest, gain, or ambition, to surrender one jot or tittle of that revered instrument. He read from the Madison Papers containing the debates on the Constitution of the United States, to show that the Constitution, as at first reported, contained a provision that no navigation act should be passed by Congress except by a two-third vote of all the members present; and no law should be passed prohibiting the importation of African slaves. Upon that a conflict arose between the North and the South. The matter was recommitted to the committee of detail, to endeavor to frame some provision which should reconcile the conflicting interests of the two sections, and the result was the provisions in the present Constitution, under which these prohibitory laws had been passed.

Mr. P. read from the remarks of Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, to show that at the time this clause was reported, he and others from the South, in the Convention, understood it to grant the power to prohibit the importation of African slaves after the year 1808. It was considered a bargain struck, a contract made by the patriotic framers of the Constitution, in order to unite the two conflicting interests of the North and South, and enable them to form this Federal Union. It may be argued by the gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. Yancey,) that while not in opposition to the letter of the Constitution, these prohibitory laws were in opposition to its spirit. He would say, *erit in litera, erit in cartice*.

The gentleman from Alabama (Mr. Yancey) argues in his report that these laws are discriminating against the South, and constitute a degrading badge, a dishonorable mark upon the South. By whom was the law of 1808 passed? By a Democratic Congress, sanctioned by the administration of Thomas Jefferson, in which was James Madison, one of the original framers of the Constitution. Was it to be believed that those men who framed the resolutions of '98 and '99, and inaugurated and established the doctrine of States-rights, could in eight years have so changed, or have become so far forgetful of the rights of the South, as to have sanctioned a law that places the brand of Cain upon her forehead, and stamps her with dishonor before the civilized world? Who passed the law of 1812, authorizing the employment of a naval force upon the coast of Africa to suppress the traffic in African slaves? A Democratic Congress, and James Monroe was in the Executive Chair, and had Wm. H. Crawford, and John C. Calhoun in his Cabinet, to advise and counsel him. Shall we now say that our ancestors were dull, obtuse, incomprehensive, and negligent of the rights of the South; insensible to degradation, and willing to bear the brand of dishonor before Christendom? Not so. He stood there to preserve the inheritance of glory and honor which had descended to him and to all of the South from these men. These laws were constitutional, the power to pass them having been freely yielded by the South, and which power had also been exercised by Southern

men. He was not in favor of taking any equivocal position, in which the honor, integrity, and fairness of the South can in any manner be questioned. Should we do so, we will lose all that, should it become necessary for us to go out of the Union, would take us out with honor, a sense of justice and right that could not be gainsayed.

The gentleman from Alabama (Mr. Yancey) had said that the North had the high places in the synagogue, the seats of honor at the table, while the South was seated far below. He hoped that, in one sense, that would always be the case; that no allurements of power and position should ever influence them in their action on the great interests of the South. The patronage of government was a seductive power that takes away the strength of those upon whom it is exercised. And while the South is in a minority, while she must ever be in the minority, he hoped the representatives of the South would always occupy the lowest seats in the synagogue, where they would not be exposed to the seductive influence of honors and office. Complaint had been made of the action of the men of the South in Congress, in the late settlement of the Kansas question. That action had been taken by nearly a unanimous Southern representation, whom it was acknowledged were removed from the seductive influence of honors and high position in the Government. He did not believe that such as Davis, Hammond, Toombs, Clay, Mason, Hunter, and others, had been entirely unmindful of the great interests of the South. A wise man knows his position as much from the character of his foe as from that of the friend who acted with him. Who had opposed this measure for which the entire South had voted! The entire, unbroken, undivided array of the Black Republican party in Congress.

The South should be united, should be able to go up to the Federal Government with a united array, whenever it was deemed necessary to demand redress for the wrongs inflicted, or the granting of rights referred. How stands the South upon this question! But two States had had the question brought before them, Louisiana and South Carolina, and they had taken no action. Your entire representation in the popular branch of Congress, at the session before the last, had, with the exception of eight or ten, solemnly resolved that it was inexpedient, unwise, and contrary to the settled policy of the country, to re-open the African slave-trade. To accomplish the object here recommended, you must first attack and overthrow all your public men who had expressed their opinions upon this subject. We should act like wise statesmen, and not seek to do that which is impracticable and impossible; to do that for the South which the South herself, speaking through her representatives, has declared to be unwise and inexpedient.

The gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. Yancey,) without intending, as he had declared, any impeachment of the Commonwealth of Virginia, or the motives of those who represent her here, has intimated that motives of pecuniary interest have influenced their position upon this question. He (Mr. Preston) had heard that before, but it had come from another quarter—from our adversaries of the North, who had made the charge that Virginia had become the mother of dead empires, and was but the breeder of slaves for sale. Was that so! What was the condition of Virginia now! Since 1820 she had renewed her vitality, and was now pressing onward in the road to wealth, population, and greatness equaled by but few States in this Union, and excelled by but still fewer States. During the last twenty-five years she has expended seventy-five millions of dollars in internal improvements. In consequence of the opening and previously uncultivated portions of her territory to settlement, and giving them the means of reaching convenient market by means of these works of internal improvement, Virginia had, since 1850, added to her taxable property and wealth no less than one hundred millions of dollars. She had opened a field for her slave labor which rendered it as profitable as the cotton growing regions of the Gulf States, until, as the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Spratt) had said in his report, Virginia now offered the best market for the sale of even the slaves of South Carolina that there was in the Union. He had himself seen an estate of eighty-six negroes sold in Virginia at an average of \$702 each, but five of whom had been bought by traders, though there were sixteen slave-traders at the sale, with half a million of dollars in their pockets.

The institution of slavery had been established here, a new and untried system there, against the opinions of the uncivilized world. The States of the North had yielded to that opinion and abolished it. The South had, however, against the influence of that opinion, progressed constantly and steadily, until she now presents the most beautiful, stupendous, grand, and unrivalled system of labor and capital that the world ever beheld. But she had done this by being united and firm in her position. Shall we now, upon a question that is admitted to be impracticable and unattainable, create division and dissension among ourselves at a time when England and France were endeavoring to establish systems of labor like our own, differing only in name! Let us rather wait, and let an overruling Providence guide our institutions to their natural culmination. We are in the minority now, but we are united; so not let us expose our feebleness by adopting any policy which must necessarily tend to a division amongst us.

Mr. YANCEY, of Alabama, obtained the floor. He said that although the State of Alabama had occupied so undue a share of the time of the Convention, yet he had been so often referred to in this debate, his position and arguments had been so misunderstood and consequently misrepresented, that he felt it due to himself to again ask the indulgence of the Convention, in order that he might set himself right before the Convention, and that portion of his countrymen who take some interest in his political fortunes.

In the first place, he must set himself right before that gallant and intelligent body of gentlemen who occupy the portion of the hall assigned to the representatives of the State of Virginia. In all frankness and candor, he would say to them that he had not designedly uttered any language that, in his opinion, could be legitimately considered as susceptible of wounding their feelings in any respect. He very well knew that there were some men who loved to indulge in language which could be easily explained to have one meaning, but which was intended to have a very different effect at the time it was uttered. But those who knew him well, knew that he never spoke with a forked tongue. If in the heat of debate he had fallen into error, or had wounded the feelings of his friends, his antecedents would prove that he was as ready to acknowledge his error as he was stubborn in persisting in what he considered to be right. In replying to the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Pryor,) who had said that the planters of the South were not interested in the low price of labor, he had made use of an illustration which had, perhaps, been the cause of this sensitiveness on the part of members from Virginia. He referred to the suppositious case of the captain of the vessel, who would be told that it would be unlawful to purchase slaves in Cuba, Brazil, or Africa, but it would be lawful to buy them in Virginia. He had referred to Richmond, and had placed the inquiries of the captain in the mouth of the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Pryor) with no other purpose than to bring his mind to the reply he (Mr. Y.) was making to his (Mr. Pryor's) position. He might probably have with more force represented the city of Baltimore as the place where the captain could lawfully buy slaves. He had, however, chosen the city of Richmond because the gentleman to whom he was replying was from that city. As to his reference to the fact that Eli Thayer had settled a colony of abolitionists in Virginia, as being evidence that even in the South could be found a class of persons who give countenance to those inimical to her institutions, and therefore the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Spratt) was right in saying that it was necessary for us to strengthen the base of slavery—he had made that reference solely because it was the only fact he could use for the purpose of his argument.

It was not intended as a taunt, but the mere statement of a historical fact. It was the misfortune of Virginia that, owing to the cheapness of her lands, and her position as a border State, she offered the greatest inducement for such a settlement. He had not charged it upon her as a fault, but had merely referred to it as a fact. This explanation, he trusted, the generous nature of the Virginia representatives would regard as sufficient.

Mr. PRESTON, of Virginia, assured the gentleman that such was the case.

Mr. YANCEY said that he would go on and explain what he deemed to be a misunderstanding of his true position, and reasons for that position, upon the

question before the Convention. From no spirit of unkindness, he was well aware, gentlemen opposed to him upon this question had not seemed inclined to allow him to define his own position. He had not taken the ground that he would make the refusal to repeal the present discriminating laws against the South the sole issue upon which to hazard the issue of union or disunion. When he had a hundred good causes of complaint he was not so unwise as to give up ninety-nine of them, and trust to the one, however good that one might be. He had expressed his intention to consider this refusal but as an additional cause of complaint.

He had not said, in the brief report that he had submitted to the Convention upon this subject, that these laws were technically unconstitutional. What he had said was that the effect of those laws had been violative of the spirit of the Constitution, which guaranteed an entire equality to both sections of this country.

It had been charged upon him—and without explanation the charge might tend to his prejudice—that he had condemned unheard the representatives of the South who had voted for the conference bill. Such was not the case. It would be doing great injustice to him to assert that he was raising the battle-axe against Clay, Shorter, Curry, Dowdell, and others of the Alabama representatives, with whom he was on most friendly social and political relations. He had referred to the bill in order to show what he thought was a wrong to the South. But if it was a wrong, it was a wrong done by Southern men, no doubt honestly and loyally to the South. But he had no desire, upon this issue, to run his lance through the breasts of the friends of the South, who had unwittingly shielded those who he believed had planned this thing for the injury of the South.

Mr. WILLIAMSON, of Alabama, asked the gentleman if he considered the land ordinance, attached to the Leecompton constitution, as a part and parcel of that constitution.

Mr. YANCEY said that he did so consider it. The constitution gave to Kansas the right to come into this Union upon an equal footing with the original thirteen States, not one of whom had been called upon to surrender any of the lands within her limits at the time of her admission. And though Congress, with the consent of Kansas, could change the land ordinance, it had no right to make her consent to that change the condition upon which her admission into this Union should depend. This place was, however, the legitimate sphere for the discussion of this question. But he hoped that an opportunity would yet be afforded, under the resolutions of our Legislature in reference to this question, before the assembled sovereignty of the State of Alabama.

Mr. Yancey, at fifteen minutes to 2 o'clock, gave way to Mr. Preston, of Virginia, upon whose motion—

The Convention took a recess until 4 o'clock.

#### — EVENING SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at 4 o'clock, by the President, who called Mr. Mark A. Cooper, of Georgia, to the chair.

Mr. McCAA, of Alabama, offered the following resolution, which was referred to the Business Committee:

*Resolved*, That the South ought to foster more intimate and direct commercial relations with the Empire of Brazil.

Mr. PERCY WALKER, of Alabama, submitted the following resolution, which was referred to the Business Committee:

*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Convention, the several slave States should pass laws prohibiting emancipation, in any form, of slaves; and that the free negroes in those States should be removed.

Mr. DE BOW, from the Business Committee, made several reports to the Convention.

The one recommending the resolutions in favor of repealing the fishing bounties was adopted.

Mr. De Bow also reported a resolution from the committee, that when this Convention adjourn its present session, it be to meet again in Vicksburg, Mississippi, on the second Monday of May, 1859; and that a committee of five be appointed to report business for the action of the Convention at that session.

The resolution was agreed to.

The Convention then resumed the consideration of the special order.

Mr. YANCEY, of Alabama, resumed his speech upon the report of the Committee upon the African slave-trade. He replied at some length to the charge that he had understood had been recently circulated against him by those unfriendly to him, that in his course upon this question he was actuated by motives of personal advantage, rather than a regard for the interests of the South. He had not brought this matter before this Convention. The last Convention, at Knoxville, of which he was not a member, had referred this subject to this Convention. He had been appointed upon the committee charged with the duty of collecting information on this subject, if not without his consent, still, without being consulted in regard to it. The subject being legitimately before this Convention, for their action, he had felt himself constrained to assume that position upon it which he deemed to be right, undeterred by the fact that he might be in a minority. He was advocating what he considered a correct principle, and whether that principle should triumph or not in his day, was not a matter for him to take into consideration.

He believed that the laws prohibiting the African slave-trade were, in spirit, unconstitutional. He admitted that gentlemen upon the other side had produced authorities to show that, when these laws were passed, they might not have been in opposition to the letter of the Constitution, and were not intended by those who passed them to work injuriously to the South. Yet they might well have become, in their effects, repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution. It was no sound argument against his position to say that the constitutionality of these laws had not been questioned until within a very brief period. The Missouri Compromise, approved by James Monroe and John C. Calhoun, had been considered constitutional for more than thirty years. And yet, in 1857, the Supreme Court of the United States had declared it to be unconstitutional.

The young men of the present day, with all the benefits of the advancement in science, discovery, and knowledge of social, political, and moral economy, were better able to judge of what was just, right, and proper for the interests of the South, than were any men, however intelligent and exalted they might have been, of fifty years ago. He protested against the line of argument pursued by gentlemen in this Convention against the policy advocated here, because it was a new idea; he protested against the arraying against it the opinions and acts of old fogymen. That was not the proper course to be pursued. Sacred history—and he referred to it with reverence—furnished an illustrious example of the course that had been pursued upon this question. Our Savior had been condemned and crucified by the old fogies of Jewry, because he had given a new idea to the world; one which high priests and the rulers of Jerusalem had decided was against the doctrines and teachings of their fathers.

He read from the statistics contained in the compendium of the last census, by De Bow, to prove that the laws of Congress—that he now contended should be repealed—had discriminated against the South, and in favor of the North. While the South had been prohibited from importing black laborers, the North had been left free to the immigration of white laborers. The result had been that the increase of population in the North had been far greater than that of the South, though the latter had all the advantages of a more fertile soil and genial climate. These same statistics proved also, that this increase had been owing to the foreign white population received into the Northern States. There were now—with Minnesota, which had just been admitted—seventeen free to fifteen slave States. Kansas, Oregon, and Washington would soon be admitted as free States, while there was no territory left from which the South could create another slave State.

Mr. Y. criticised at some length what he styled the buncombe and hifalutin, the poetical and classical, quotations that had been reverted to by his eloquent and distinguished colleague, (Mr. Hilliard.)

Without concluding—at fifteen minutes to 7 o'clock—he gave way to Mr. PERCY WALKER, of Alabama, upon whose motion The Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, at 9 o'clock.

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FIFTH DAY—MORNING SESSION.

FRIDAY, May 14, 1853.

The Convention was called to order by the President, at half-past nine o'clock, A. M.

The journal of yesterday was read and approved.

Mr. PAGE, of Alabama, offered a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee of three, to provide for the reporting and publishing of the debates and proceedings of this Convention, and to supply each member of the Convention with a copy of the same.

Mr. TIFT, of Georgia, said that the Business Committee had that matter under consideration, and would report during the day. He, therefore, moved to lay the resolution upon the table. The motion was agreed to, as follows:

*Yeas*—Virginia, 15; South Carolina, 8; Georgia, 10; Mississippi, 7; Louisiana, 6; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 4; and Florida, 3—65.

*Nays*—Alabama, 9.

Mr. TODD, of Florida, offered resolutions upon the subject of Southern school books and education; also to provide for supplying each member of this Convention with two copies of the printed debates of the Convention. Referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. HAYNE, of South Carolina, stated to the Convention that the Committee on Business had agreed upon a favorable report in relation to the resolutions of Mr. ELLIOTT, of South Carolina, concerning the harbor of Port Royal, South Carolina, which he (Mr. E.) would make to the Convention.

Mr. ELLIOTT read the report of the Committee on Business, and argued briefly in favor of Port Royal, South Carolina, being considered as an eminently favorable commercial and naval port of the South.

The report of the Committee was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. HUGHES, of Mississippi, offered a resolution for the appointment of a committee of seven, to report to the next Convention, concerning the progress of the peculiar labor of the South, since the adoption of the Federal Convention; and whether the present relation of master and slave was identical with that originally contemplated by the Constitution, &c. Referred to the Committee on Business.

## AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

The Convention proceeded to the consideration of the special order—the reports from the Committee upon the re-opening of the African slave-trade.

Mr. YANCEY resumed his speech, commenced on yesterday. He proceeded to argue against the position assumed by the gentleman from Monroe county, Alabama, (Mr. Scott,) that the power to prohibit the African slave-trade was granted to Congress by that clause of the Constitution which gave to Congress the power to regulate commerce with foreign countries. He contended that the power to regulate did not include the power to prohibit, as prohibition removed from the action of Congress the matter to be regulated. To admit such a power would be to grant what had been claimed by the Abolitionists of the North, but denied by the South—that the power to pass laws for the regulation of the Territories of the United States included the power to destroy the institution of slavery in those Territories. To argue that the power to pass these laws prohibiting the African slave-trade was derived from the grant of power to Congress to regulate commerce with foreign nations and between the several States of this Union, was to argue that Congress had the power to prohibit the internal slave-trade of the South.

He contended that these laws, in regard to the African slave-trade, were discriminating against the South, derogatory to her constitutional rights and to her interests, and in accordance with the spirit of abolitionism which, even at

the time of their passage, was evincedly the character of legislation in Northern States in regard to the institution of slavery. He read from De Bow's Compendium of the Census certain statistics to show the increase of Northern labor over Southern labor, and which was attributable to the action of these discriminating laws. Those laws were, therefore, violative of the spirit, even if not of the letter of the Constitution, which guaranteed equality to the South as well as the North.

It had been urged against the proposition before the Convention, that it would produce division among the people of the South. He would ask, upon what is the South now united? The South was not even united upon the question whether she was right or wrong, in asserting that her rights had been trampled upon by the North to such an extent as to justify her breaking the bonds of this Union. The Convention had been addressed by eloquent gentlemen, to the effect that nothing had yet been done to justify such a course upon the part of the South. All admit that we have suffered wrongs and injuries. And the only thing that the South are united upon is, that we are submitting to these wrongs. And the proposition now before the Convention cannot destroy a unity which does not exist among the Southern people.

It was argued against this measure that the South would not unite upon it. He knew there would be opposition to it. He never expected to see the day when a Southern convention, met upon Southern issues, would be superior to that band of patriots that met in the convention that framed the Declaration of Independence; for even there were some in that body who proposed for a little time longer to trust to the clemency of the British Crown before extreme measures were resorted to. It was human nature that there should ever be found some such men in every body that should assemble to discuss so mighty a question as one in which life, fortune, and sacred honor were involved. He therefore never expected a unity of action on the part of the South on any one issue. But one thing would influence one mind, another thing would influence still another mind, till at last all these influences would produce sufficient effect to enable the South to move forward from a Lexington to a Bunker Hill, and so go until the foe had been driven from the land.

It was said that this was an inferior issue. A tax of three cents a pound on tea was practically an inferior issue. But, as his colleague (Mr. Scott) had said, that involved a great principle. A great principle was involved here, the principle of equality, the principle that our government should not be permitted to brand our institutions as unworthy of extension, even if the letter of the Constitution gave it the power to do so. And yet the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Pryor) and others here, even his colleague, (Mr. Hilliard,) had said that they would consider the election of a Black Republican President in 1860, a sufficient cause for dissolving this Union, even though he should be elected under the forms of law and the Constitution. He would say that he would go with the South even on that issue, though he should feel that it was an inferior one; and when, if they should not succeed, and he was asked why judgment of death should not be pronounced against him for treason, he could not, as he could have done upon present issues, raise his eyes to Heaven and say that he was guiltless of wrong against the Constitution and laws of the country. He preferred the present position of the South, where she was clearly in the right, and where they would not, as in 1860, have all the powers of the Government—its army, its navy, and its treasury—arrayed against them.

He could produce a proposition, if it would not be considered presumption in him to do so: let us meet and consult together upon this question of the duty of the South now, and if the assembled sovereignty of the South should say, wait, we are not ready to move now, he would respect that voice. But perhaps that Convention might say, we do not wish to move alone—in Alabama, for instance—but would prefer to have all the other States with us; he will go to Virginia, and though she cannot move on account of her peculiar border position, she might say in a spirit of true sisterhood to the Gulf States—move on, form your confederacy, and we will see that you are not molested by a foe that should reach you across our territory. And if Virginia should give that response, he would take her by the hand and bid her farewell, and turn

Southwards and ask South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Florida, Arkansas, and Louisiana, to form a confederacy of right, and equality, and justice, with a unity of clime, production, and brotherly love. And when they had thus done, there would be room enough upon our shield to inscribe the "*Sic Semper Tyrannis*" of Virginia. North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri could come in, and there would soon be produced such a retrograde movement in the opinions of the North that there would not be a Yankee within a hundred miles of the border of the slave confederacy who would not become a slave-catcher if we would let him trade with us. This was but a faint foreshadowing of an idea that was at the bottom of his heart, but which he had kept down, because he had not been shown the proper time to give it shape. But gentlemen are afraid of conventions of the people.

Mr. DUPONT, of Florida. We are not.

Mr. YANCEY. You and I are not, but some are. It was the true spirit of our government and policy to consult the people, the source of power, and let them back and support us if they agreed with us; or, if they did not, to indicate the position they desired us to occupy. If their judgment should be to wait, he would bow to their mandate, whether he desired to do so or not.

He begged pardon of the Convention for detaining them so long, when others desired to be heard upon this grave and momentous question.

Mr. SPRATT, of South Carolina, obtained the floor. He said that he would detain the Convention but a short time, in doing what parliamentary practice and courtesy allowed him as the chairman of the committee that made this report to do, to close the debate upon this question.

It was claimed by this report that the South was right in her institutions, and being right, she was justified in pursuing any legitimate course to maintain and extend them. None disputed that proposition. In the form of government we have adopted, majorities must rule—which majorities were created by population. If there was not a majority at the South, the report agreed that it was necessary that there should be population sufficient at least, to sustain the rights of the South in this Government. The committee felt themselves compelled to assume that there might be in the Southern States a class of men, who, however ready they might be to fight for the South if it was necessary, yet from their peculiar relation and condition in regard to this institution of slavery, might not feel that same solicitude about the welfare and success of that institution that others did; and, therefore, it was necessary to devise some means by which this class of citizens should be, from motives of interest, led to entertain a different feeling.

The report had also urged that there was a necessity for an increase of labor in the South. Against that position it had been urged that such an increase would so increase the production of cotton, which now was a monopoly, that it would cease to be that source of strength to the South that it now was. If we look to the interests of the South, it was argued that we should endeavor to strengthen that monopoly as much as possible. He thought there was no object presented in the whole range of agricultural and commercial advancement more painful than that presented by a people who were dependent upon a single production for their prosperity. Look at Spanish America, when she had the monopoly of the production of the precious metals. Every one who entered into that pursuit was made rich. But everything else was neglected. No lands were cultivated, no houses were built, no other interest was fostered; and when that monopoly was destroyed, the country sunk into the position it now presents to the world. There are other interests and objects of pursuits, besides that of producing cotton, which should be fostered in the South, and which would receive the attention of capitalists if the inducements were given to them to do so. The object of this movement was to afford to men in the South who want to advance their fortunes, an opportunity of taking some line of pursuit which they are not now in a condition of doing, and which would identify them with the safety and progress of our institutions.

Was it true, as had been urged here against the position taken by this report, that those amongst us who own no slaves are as true to our interests as those who do own them—that it was only necessary for a man to live within the

limits of the slave States to lead them to be true to our institution of slavery—how would gentlemen account for the condition of things that existed in many portions of the slave States? Were all in Delaware true to our interests? Was that the case in Maryland, who gave her vote for Fillmore for President? Were all even in western Virginia true to the best interests of the South?

Mr. PRYOR, of Virginia, would say to the gentleman that nowhere within the limits of Virginia were the people more loyal to the rights and interests of the South, than were the true-hearted, hard-fisted, and loyal democracy of western Virginia. No issue had yet agitated the country upon which the large slaveholders of Virginia had shown themselves more loyal than the small farmers of western Virginia.

Mr. SPRATT. Are the people of western Virginia willing that slave labor should come in competition with them in the mechanic arts?

Mr. PRYOR. They are. They have driven Eli Thayer and his followers from two or three counties, and his colony is now broken up.

Mr. SPRATT said that western Virginia was different from other portions of the South. It might be that in western Virginia there was a degree of magnanimity upon this subject that there was not elsewhere. He had judged of western Virginia from what he had known of other sections, where they were not willing to have slave labor come in competition with their labor. In the large Southern cities it was the practice years ago to have negro draymen, but now such was not the case, for poor white men were not willing to have slaves in competition with them.

He would say one word on the constitutional argument of this question. It had not been considered expedient to urge that argument in the report he had submitted, because, though it was believed to be tenable, it was deemed that there was enough in the report to commend it to the favorable consideration of this body. He would, however, add one thing to what had been so ably and lucidly urged by the gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. Yancey.) The Constitution expressly reserved to the States and the people of the States all powers not directly guaranteed to the General Government. The clause under the operation of which these prohibitory laws had been passed, restricted the Government expressly from exercising this power before a certain period. But even in that clause there was no power delegated to the General Government to do this thing—it was a mere restriction, not any delegation of power.

It was, perhaps, unnecessary for him to trespass farther upon the time of the Convention, as he conceived that nothing had been said since this discussion commenced, that had not been answered before the discussion commenced—if he might be allowed to use the expression—in the report. But, before closing, he would say, that it had been urged upon him by members of his own delegation that, inasmuch as the public mind of the South was not yet made up on this question, as there are those whose opinions are not yet matured upon this subject, it might be advisable to postpone the further consideration of this subject to the next meeting of this Convention. That would be entirely in accordance with his own wishes, and he trusted it would meet the approbation of the Convention.

Mr. PRYOR said that at the suggestion of the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Spratt) he would withdraw his motion for indefinite postponement.

Mr. PERCY WALKER, of Alabama, suggested that the two reports and the accompanying resolutions be referred to the Committee on Business, with instructions to report the same to the Convention at its next meeting for further consideration.

Mr. RHETT, of South Carolina, asked if, now that the motion to indefinitely postpone had been withdrawn, the previous motion to lay upon the table and print, made by the gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. Yancey,) would not be first in order?

Mr. YANCEY, of Alabama, said that as the motion to lay on the table and print might appear to some to be less respectful and favorable to the ideas and views which he entertained upon this question, than the course suggested by his colleague, (Mr. Walker,) he would withdraw his motion.

Mr. RUETT said, that in the South Carolina Legislature, which had appointed

a committee to examine and report upon this subject, and which committee had made two reports, one for and one against, the course pursued there was to lay on the table and order them to be printed. Although they were unprepared to take definite action upon the subject, they thought it of sufficient importance to the South to authorize a dissemination of the information contained in those reports, in the most extensive and imposing form they could. For the same reasons he thought precisely the same course should be pursued here.

Mr. PRYOR, of Virginia, said that in a spirit of conciliation and compromise, with a view to harmonize, as much as possible, the action of this Convention, he would move to lay these reports upon the table, and that they be printed.

Mr. YANCEY said, that as the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Pryor) had been prominent as an opponent of this measure, it would appear upon the minutes of the Convention that he had submitted the motion at the suggestion of a friend of the measure, in order that it might not be supposed by those who did not know the circumstances, that the Convention, by agreeing to the motion, designed to express disapproval of the reports of the committee.

Mr. PRYOR said he would modify his motion so that it would read that, at the suggestion of the gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Rhett,) he had moved to lay these reports upon the table, and that they be printed.

The motion to lay upon the table and print was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. HUBBARD, of Alabama, explained that he had been incorrectly represented in the papers as arguing, the other night, at length, in favor of the proposition of his colleague, (Mr. Yancey.) Such was not the fact. He had merely said that he would prefer his proposition to that of the gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Spratt.) But he had argued that he considered that there were more important and legitimate subjects that the Convention should act upon. He had made no advocacy of either of the propositions submitted by the committee, upon the re-opening of the African slave-trade.

#### NICARAGUA.

On motion of Mr. PERCY WALKER, of Alabama, the Convention then proceeded to the consideration of the following resolutions, reported from the Committee on Business, with the recommendation that they be adopted by the Convention, viz:

*Resolved*, That we regard the establishment of the Americans in Nicaragua as a work of duty, no less than of honor and interest, on the part of the Southern people; and that this enterprise, tending as it does to the increase of Southern commerce and Southern power, is of paramount importance to all other questions now before the American people.

*Resolved*, That, as the Southern States have, under the Constitution, equality of commercial rights and privileges with those of the North, the Federal Government is faithless to its engagements and oppressive in its operation when it attempts to suppress emigration to Central America from the South, while it permits it from the North; and that we deem it just and lawful to resist such an assumption of Federal power, and perversion of constitutional authority.

*Resolved*, That we consider the Americans of Nicaragua as having been twice most grievously wronged by the Federal Government: first, by the act of Commander Davis at San Juan del Sur and Rivas, and recently by the utterly illegal and disgraceful conduct of Commodore Paulding at Punta Arenas; and that we believe that the people of the Southern States not only entirely repudiate these wrongs to their former countrymen, but also regard them as indirect insults to themselves; and we accordingly warn the Federal Government that a further persistence in such acts will not only render the Government odious to the people of the States and contemptible to foreign nations, but will most certainly dissolve the Union itself.

Mr. WALKER said that he would not, at this stage of the session, and when the Convention has become wearied with the extended discussion upon another subject, yield to the temptation to urge the merits of those resolutions, but would merely ask the action of the Convention upon them.

Mr. HAYNE, of South Carolina, said that he could not give his sanction to these resolutions. He did not consider this question paramount to all others.

The last resolution contained a threat and menace to the General Government. And he desired to avoid all further threats and menaces upon the part of the South until they were in a situation to put them into execution.

Mr. WALKER, in reply, said that he had styled this question paramount to all others, because he believed that it was a fact evident to all, that the only way in which the South could extend her territory and institutions, was by the way of Central America, and from there northward towards the United States. This was a question inseparable from any slave policy the South might have in view. He also considered that the last resolution expressed nothing more than was true. But he would not detain this Convention at that time longer in discussing this question.

Mr. SHEPHERD, of Alabama, supported the resolutions. He affirmed that the only battle that had been fought, and the only blood that had been shed for the institutions of the Southern States, had been fought and shed upon the fields of Central America. In that respect Nicaragua had done more than any State of the South had yet done.

Mr. JONES, of Georgia, was opposed to the resolutions in their present shape, though in favor of their spirit.

Mr. HUNTER, of Georgia, did not think this question came properly before this Convention. The Federal Government, under our Constitution, had charge of such matters as these, and they, therefore, did not come properly and legitimately before this Convention. For that reason he was opposed to them.

Mr. BELSER, of Alabama, gave notice of certain amendments he desired to offer to these resolutions.

Mr. HAYNE, of South Carolina, moved that the resolutions be laid upon the table and printed.

The question being taken, the motion was not agreed to, as follows:

*Yeas*—Virginia, 15; South Carolina, 8—23.

*Nays*—Alabama, 9; Louisiana, 6; Georgia, 10; Mississippi, 7; Texas, 4; and Florida, 3—39.

On motion of Mr. BETHEA, of Alabama, at 15 minutes to 2 o'clock,

The Convention took a recess until 4 o'clock.

#### — EVENING SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at 4 o'clock by the President.

The Chair appointed the following gentlemen to prepare an address for calling the next Southern Commercial Convention:

J. D. B. De Bow, of Louisiana; Gen. John A. Quitman, of Mississippi; Hon. Wm. L. Yancey, of Alabama; Hon. Guy M. Bryan, of Texas; Maj. W. H. Chase, of Florida.

The Convention then resumed the consideration of the resolutions in relation to Nicaragua.

Mr. BELSER, of Alabama, moved to amend the first resolution so that it should read "paramount to many other questions," instead of "all other questions." Agreed to.

Mr. B. also moved to amend the second resolution by striking out the word "resist," and insert the word "condemn." Agreed to.

Mr. B. also moved to amend that portion of the third resolution which reads, "and we accordingly warn the Federal Government that a further persistence in such acts will not only render the Government odious to the people of the States, and contemptible to foreign nations, but will most certainly dissolve the Union itself." He moved to amend by striking out the words "not only" before the word "render," and the words "but will certainly dissolve the Union itself."

The amendment was adopted.

The resolutions, as amended, were then adopted, as follows:

*Yeas*—Virginia, 15; South Carolina, 8; Alabama, 9; Georgia, 10; Mississippi, 7; Louisiana, 6; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 4; and Florida, 6—77.

*Nays*—0.

## AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE

Mr. BRECKENRIDGE, of Louisiana, said that Mr. Kimbro, of Georgia, would offer a resolution, at his request, because the Louisiana delegation, being equally divided upon it, he did not deem it proper to offer it himself.

Mr. KIMBRO, of Georgia, then offered the following resolution:

*"Resolved, That it is inexpedient for any State, or its citizens, to attempt to re-open the African slave-trade while that State is one of the United States of America."*

Mr. BRECKENRIDGE said, that he did not consider the slave-trade wrong in itself. He thought it would benefit both the white and the black races, to have the negroes of Africa brought to this country and made slaves. But inasmuch as our forefathers had voluntarily consented to a constitution which gave Congress the power to prohibit the African slave-trade, and as we were in honor and good faith bound to support that Constitution as long as we remained in this Union, it was inexpedient to re-open that trade at this time.

Mr. YANCEY, of Alabama, moved to lay the resolution upon the table.

The motion was agreed to, as follows:

*Yeas*—Virginia, 15; South Carolina, 8; Georgia, 10; Alabama, 9; Mississippi, 7; Louisiana, 3; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 4; and Florida, 3—71.

*Nays*—Louisiana, 3.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

Mr. HARVEY, from the Committee on Business, made an unfavorable report upon the resolution of Mr. Steele, of Georgia, in relation to appointing a committee of three to visit, examine, and report upon the iron rolling-mill at Atlanta, Georgia.

Mr. STEELE, of Georgia, moved that the report of the committee be disagreed to, and that the resolution be adopted.

The motion was agreed to.

The President subsequently announced to the Convention the following as the committee: Messrs. Steele and Holcombe, of Fulton county, Georgia, and Mr. Lochrane, of Macon county, Georgia.

Mr. JONES, of Georgia, called up his resolutions, upon which the Committee on Business had made an unfavorable report. The resolution is as follows:

*"Resolved, That we recommend to the Governors of the Southern States, or such of them as think with us, to call on the people of their respective States to elect delegates, equal to their representation in Congress, to meet in convention at ———, on the first Monday in ———, to take into consideration the present critical position of the South, and the dangers that threaten her in the future, and to endeavor to devise, if possible, effectual safeguards for her future security and equality in the Union, or, failing in that, to go out of it."*

Mr. RUFFIN, of Virginia, moved to lay the resolution upon the table.

The motion was agreed to, as follows:

*Yeas*—Virginia, 15; Georgia, 10; South Carolina, 8; Alabama, 9; Tennessee, 12; Florida, 3—37.

*Nays*—Louisiana, 3.

Mr. WOODS, of Alabama, laid before the Convention a communication from Prof. McCormick, of McCormick College, upon the subject of Southern school books, accompanied by a copy of a work upon Arithmetic.

Mr. HARVEY, from the Committee on Business, reported back various matters which had been referred to that committee.

Mr. TIFT, of Georgia, made a minority report upon the subject of retaliatory laws.

Mr. LAMAR, of Georgia, on behalf of the Business Committee, reported that they had made arrangements for the printing of 2,000 copies of the proceedings of this Convention, to be uniform with the pamphlet proceedings of the last Convention; also that they had provided for the distribution of the same to the several members of this Convention and the Governors of the Southern States, with the recommendation that they lay the same before the Legislatures

of their respective States. The same committee also recommended that that portion of the fund contributed by this Convention to pay its printing and other expenses, remaining over after those expenses are paid, be transmitted to the Mayor of Vicksburg, to be held by him for the next Convention.

Mr. STEELE, of Georgia, said that he had been informed that two of the press in this city had made arrangements with a competent reporter, in anticipation of the meeting of this Convention, to come on from a distance to report its debates and proceedings. That reporter was now here, and had in his hands full and complete notes of all the debates and proceedings that had taken place in this Convention. These presses had guaranteed to that reporter a certain sum for his services. He would, therefore, move that this surplus be appropriated to these presses that had incurred this expense.

Mr. LAMAR, of Georgia, said that he thought it was the duty of Southern presses to do all in their power to uphold Southern conventions. He was opposed to appropriating any of the funds raised by this Convention to remunerate them for expenses incurred in reporting and printing the proceedings of this Convention, when they were enhancing the value of their papers to their subscribers, and doing but their duty to them.

Mr. BETHEA, of Alabama, said that this fund had been contributed by members here to pay the expenses of this Convention, not the one to be holden in Vicksburg. He did not believe that the people of Vicksburg would receive this money if sent to them. They would send it back. He hoped the motion of the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Steele) would be adopted.

Mr. PRYOR, of Virginia, moved that whatever balance may remain in the hands of the Secretary of this Convention, be transmitted to the Mayor of Montgomery, to be distributed among the charitable institutions in this city.

Mr. BETHEA said that Montgomery was able to support her own charitable institutions, and did not ask any assistance of this Convention. He hoped that the Secretary of this Convention would be directed to pay this surplus to those papers in this city that had incurred the expense of sending for a reporter to come on here and report the debates of this Convention.

Mr. YANCEY said the proposition of the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. Bethea) was discriminating. There was one press in this city, although it had not sent abroad for a reporter, had had a good reporter here, who had made as accurate a report as the other papers had furnished.

Mr. BETHEA said he was willing to include all the papers.

The motion to divide the surplus fund among the papers of this city was agreed to.

Mr. LAMAR moved that the Secretary of this Convention be directed to pay the pages of this Convention the sum of \$30. Agreed to.

Mr. HUNTER, of Georgia, offered the following resolution, which was unanimously agreed to:

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the citizens of Montgomery for their politeness and hospitality to the delegates of this Convention.

Mr. PRYOR submitted the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That this Convention extend to the gentleman who has presided over its deliberations their thanks, for the impartiality, dignity, fidelity, and ability with which he had discharged his duties.

*Resolved*, That this Convention extend to their Secretary their thanks, for the ability and fidelity with which he has discharged his duties.

The President thanked the Convention for the honor they had paid him. If, in his discharge of the duties imposed upon him, he had given any offence to any one, he sincerely regretted it.

On motion of Mr. HUNTER, of Georgia, at 7 o'clock,

The Convention adjourned to meet again at Vicksburg, Mississippi, on the second Monday in May, 1859.

## BOOK NOTICES, ETC.

*A Dictionary of Trade Products. Commercial, Manufacturing and Technical Terms: with a definition of the Money, Weights and Measures of all Countries reduced to the British Standard, by P. L. Simmons, F. S. S. London: Rutledge & Co.; New York: idem, 1858.*

This is a very neat and compact duodecimo, which condenses material that usually occupies many volumes. A copy of it should be found in every commercial house. The author is well known to the mercantile world as the editor, for many years, of the Colonial Magazine, and he has subsequently been in editorial connection with the Farmer's Encyclopedia, the Mark Lane Express, Shipping and Mercantile Gazette, etc. Of the 22,000 words included in the dictionary, he tells us that the greater portion could not be found in any other work of reference. "It is especially a dictionary of substances or articles manufactured, imported, bought, sold or dealt in, at home and abroad, and of the makers and dealers in them."

*The Military Laws of the United States, relating to the Army, Marine Corps, Volunteers, Militia, and to Bounty Lands and Pensions, from the foundation of the Government to the year 1853, by John F. Callan, Clerk to the Military Committee, U. S. Senate, 1853.*

This work is issued in the very best style of the art by our southern publishing house, John Murphy & Co., Baltimore, and we offer them thanks for the contribution.

The compiler is a resident of the District of Columbia, and has enjoyed rare advantages for preparing such a work, which is now much needed. Similar ones by Col. Cross and Capt. Heitzel were made many years ago, and therefore are now comparatively useless. Mr. Callan has performed the labor with great faithfulness and care, and we expect to see his work attain popularity in military quarters. Gen. Winfield Scott says, in a commendatory note, "Mr. Callan is highly qualified to undertake the work. The plan which he has adopted, under careful advisement, is judicious and complete."

*The Every Day Book of History and Chronology, embracing the anniversaries of Memorable Persons and Events in every period and state of the world, from the creation to the present. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1858.*

The author of this laborious compilation is Joel Munsell, and we do not know of a more useful work in the whole range of our chronological literature. Its object is to bring together the great events of each day of the year in all ages, as far as their dates can be ascertained, and to arrange them chronologically. The dates are in accordance with the best authorities.

*Ursula: a Tale of Country Life, by the author of Amy Herbert, etc., in 2 vols. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1858.*

The reputation of the author as a clever writer of fiction is a sufficient endorsement of the interest of the present volumes.

*Select Discourses by Adolphe Monod, Krummacher, Tholuck, and Julius Müller. Translated from the French and German, with Biographical Notices and Dr. Monod's celebrated lectures on the Delivery of Sermons, by the Rev. H. C. Fish & D. W. Poor, D. D., with a steel portrait of Dr. Monod. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., 1858.*

The translators say, "several of the discourses here presented have long had the reputation in Europe of being among the chefs d'œuvres of their respective authors. This is true, for example, of the two of Dr. Monod on Woman, and his three on the Temptation of Christ; and those of Dr. Krummacher on the same subject, which for deep penetration and lofty eloquence are not excelled. Professor Tholuck's discourse on the Christian Life as a glorified childhood is a precious gem; those of Prof. Müller have never appeared before in an English dress."

*The Happy Home; by Kirwan, author of Letters to Bishop Hughes. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1858.*

This little work is a perfect gem, and should be in the hands of every family. The author well remarks, "every

thoughtful observer must be aware of the many influences which are in vigorous operation to corrupt the family institutions, and to weaken the power of the family compact. There are reformatory theories abroad of fearful tendencies. Customs and habits are gradually obtaining even in religious families of bad omen as to the future. The laws protecting the marriage relation are losing their force, and a sense of the high importance of the full discharge of the duties of the family compact to its extension and well being, seem to have fallen out of the church of God."

*History of the Origin, Formation and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States, with Notices of the Principal Framers, by Geo. Ticknor Curtis, in 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1858.*

We are indebted to the publishers for volume two, having not yet received volume one, which we regret. This volume embraces two books: book iv.: The Formation of the Constitution; book v.: The Adoption of the Constitution.

We commend the work to the attention of statesmen and politicians, and also to the general historical scholar, as one of great utility, considering the interest which attaches to the subject it discusses.

*History of Europe from the Fall of Napoleon to the Accession of Louis Napoleon in 1853, by Sir Richard Alison, Bart., author of the History of Europe, etc., 1858.*

We received volume three of this work from the publishers, Harper & Brothers, New York. No historical library in this country or Europe can be complete without the volumes of Alison, prejudiced witness as he often is in regard to republican matters. The Harpers deserve much credit for the promptness with which they have issued this edition.

*Explorations and Surveys for a Railroad Route from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean; quarto, 1858.*

We are indebted to the kind attentions of Senator Slidell, of Louisiana, for volumes vi. and vii. of this great national work.

Volume vi. contains the Report of Lieut. Abbott, of the Engineers, upon the explorations made by Lieut. Wil-

liamson, from the Sacramento valley to the Columbia river. The geological, botanical, and zoological portions are by Drs. Newberry, Horsford, and Girard. The illustrations and maps are numerous.

Volume vii. contains the Report of Lieut. Parke, assisted by A. H. Campbell, of the route from San Francisco to Los Angeles, and from Pimas village, on the Gila, to the Rio Grande. The geological and botanical reports are by Drs. Antisell and Torrey.

*Easter Holidays at Cedar Grove, by Mrs. Wm. Wood Seymour; New York: Daniel Dana, Jr., 1858.*

A pretty little story for children, explanatory of the seasons of the church. It is handsomely bound, and will be followed by others.

*The Rational Guide to Spelling, American School Method, by J. B. Menny, originally prepared for the Louisiana Model School, New Orleans, and now published by Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia—3d edition.*

The plan of the work is unique. The author begins with the smallest words, and proceeds progressively to those which are more complex, dividing the whole under six classes.

*Cornell's First Steps in Geography; New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1858.*

Designed for very young children, in schools or families. It is handsomely printed and illustrated. The author has prepared a series of geographies, adapted to all ages, which have reached wide popularity.

*Report on the Commercial Relations of the United States with all Foreign Nations; prepared under the direction of the Department of State. Part ii., Comparative Tariffs.*

This volume completes the series of commercial reports from the State Department. Its arrangement of tariffs is simple, and of convenient reference, and the work embraces a variety of comparative tabular statements of great value.

*New York Albion.*

We are indebted to the editors for a copy of their annual engraving, presented free to the subscribers, which is an admirable representation of Dr. Kane, at the graves of Sir John Franklin and his men. The plate is worth the amount of the subscription.

